

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT Weatherman

FILE NO. 100-439048

SECTION NO. 31

SERIALS 2221

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☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

STATE 01

URGENT 2-15-68

TO DIRECTOR

FROM [REDACTED] NO. 79

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS). IS-C.

GENERAL

81
83
BU CIA

[REDACTED]

Deleted Copy Sent
 by Letter Dated
 Per FOIPA Request

EX 101

FEB 12 3 55 PM '68

FEB 12 5 15 PM '68

100-439048-2221

FEB 20 1968

57 FEB 27 1968

10M INLET DIA
REC.D

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

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☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

PAGE TWO FROM [REDACTED] NO. 79

BS
per CIA

[REDACTED]

SEP 12 1968

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

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PAGE THREE FROM [REDACTED] 79

61
 83
 per CIA

[REDACTED]

BUREAU IS REQUESTED TO SEARCH INDICES AND FURNISH ANY IDENTIFYING DATA. ALSO REQUESTED ADVISE OF ANY INFORMATION THAT SDS GROUP WAS INVITED TO CUBA.

[REDACTED] FOLLOWING.

RECEIVED: 11:10 AM MKP

11:10 AM MKP

FEB 13 5 05 PM '68

3RD CC MR. BRENNAN

IN SUBJECT DIA

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

15 BH.00

2221

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STATE 7

URGENT 2-15-68

TO DIRECTOR

FROM

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS). IS-C

GENERAL

REMYCAB FEBRUARY 14 LAST

ADVISED FEBRUARY 15 INSTANT

BY DEPARTMENT OF STATE THAT SINCE THE 20

TRAVELERS DID NOT APPLY FOR PASSPORTS AS GROUP AND APPARENTLY
APPLIED IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF U.S. IT WILL TAKE SEVERAL DAYS
TO LOCATE THEIR APPLICATIONS. BUREAU MAY WISH TO HAVE WASHINGTON
FIELD OFFICE CONTACT PASSPORT ADJUDICATION BRANCH, PASSPORT
OFFICE, TO DETERMINE IF THERE IS CENTRAL LISTING OF PERSONS
AUTHORIZED TO TRAVEL TO CUBA AND IF TRAVELERS NAMES APPEAR
THEREIN.

INQUIRY OF PASSPORT UNIT,

REVEALS
THAT RUBBER STAMPS OR IMPRINTING DEVICES ARE NOT USED TO VALIDATE

REC 16 100-431048-1222

FEB 20 1968

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☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

PAGE TWO FROM [REDACTED]

PASSPORTS FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA. EACH PASSPORT HAS APPROPRIATE NOTATION TYPED THEREIN WITH SPECIAL TYPEWRITER USED ONLY FOR PASSPORTS. POSSIBLY THE PASSPORT OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D.C., USES IMPRINTED FACSIMILE SIGNATURE OF FRANCES KNIGHT BUT VALIDATION IS WRITTEN WITH SPECIAL TYPEWRITER.

AS THERE APPEARS TO BE POSSIBILITY THE TRAVELERS PASSPORTS HAVE BEEN FRAUDULENTLY ALTERED, BUREAU MAY WISH TO COORDINATE WITH CIA [REDACTED] IN CALLING THIS TO ATTENTION OF DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR APPROPRIATE ACTION.

[REDACTED] FOLLOWING.

RECEIVED: 10:46 PM EFH

MR. BRENNAN

the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

FBI

Date: 2/14/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - SDS

Re mytels 2/12 and 13/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are six (6) copies of an LHM concerning a demonstration sponsored by the University of Chicago (UC) Chapter of SDS on campus at the University on 2/13/68. Copies of this LHM are being furnished locally to Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, U. S. Secret Service, and U. S. Attorney, both Chicago, in view of their interest in this matter.

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER. 1237

② - Bureau (Enc. 6) (RM) DATE FORW: 2-20-68
10 - Chicago (RM) HOW FORW: 1-13-68
1 - [redacted] BY: W. F. R. K.
1 - 100-44711 (UC - SDS)
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

EX-110

REC-75

100-439048-2223

RJO: BAS
(13)

FEB 16 1968

ENCLOSURE
C. C. - Elshög

(IN SEC.)

SPRINTATE AGENCY

70 FEB 23 1968
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

MI 2/17/77

classified
by [signature]

CG 100-40903

Enclosed LHM has been classified "confidential" to adequately protect this source of continuing value, the disclosure of whom could compromise his future effectiveness and be detrimental to the security interests of the nation.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

February 14, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CG 100-40903

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

On February 12, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the University of Chicago (UC) Chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) planned to sponsor a demonstration on the UC Campus beginning at 2:30 p.m. on February 13, 1968. Source stated the demonstration will coincide with a meeting of the University's Council of Faculty Senate, which would be meeting at the Business East Building on campus to vote on whether the University will continue to maintain its relationship with the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA). SDS plans to demonstrate in order to register its objection to the University's complicity with IDA.

Source advised on February 13, 1968, that this demonstration began at 3:00 p.m. on that date at the Business East Building on the UC Campus, with approximately 36 persons participating. The demonstration consisted of picketing with demonstrators carrying signs reading "IDA Helps U.S. Kill Better Everywhere" and "UC Get Out Of IDA". In addition, a fact sheet published by UC-SDS was distributed, which requested bail money to be used for individuals arrested in connection with recent racial incidents occurring at Orangeburg, South Carolina.

Source stated the demonstration was peaceful throughout and it terminated without incident at 3:50 p.m. on February 13, 1968.

DECLASSIFIED BY 2181/pack

ON 12-7-77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group I~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) ON 12/14/77
DATE 12/14/77

100-439048-2223
ENCLOSURE

RE: SDS

CONFIDENTIAL

According to source, the following UC-SDS members participated in the demonstration:

Steve Kindred
Miles Mogulescu
Steve Rothkrug
Ernie Dornfeld
Steve Morse
Robert Salasin
Sally Yegel

NUMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

211

A characterization of the SDS is attached hereto.

The following agencies were advised of the aforementioned activities:

[REDACTED]
United States Attorney's
Office, Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED]
U. S. Secret Service
Chicago, Illinois

BR

[REDACTED]
Region I, 113th MI Group
Evanston, Illinois

[REDACTED]
Chicago Police Department
Chicago, Illinois

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: SDS

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

CONFIDENTIAL

100-439048-2224

CHANGED TO

100-439048-5-140X

AUG 5 1971

2224/2224

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 2/21/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

Re Omaha letter to the Director, dated 2/5/68.

In referenced letter, a list of names was set forth regarding persons who were arrested at the University of Iowa on November 1, 1967, which included a number of persons from the Chicago area.

For the information of the Bureau and the Omaha Office, Chicago indices were negative regarding individuals who at one time or another, were from the Chicago area. However, it should be noted that ILVA TERRY MARGOSHES, nee SILBAR, when arrested, listed IRA I. SILBAR as her father. The following information is set forth with respect to IRA SILBAR:

[REDACTED]

On August 7, 1967, IRA SILBAR was interviewed by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. At the time of the above interview, SILBAR would neither confirm nor deny past or present CP membership or association, but stated he had become disillusioned with the communist movement because of the revelations of the 20th Congress, CP - Soviet Union,

- ② Bureau (RM)
2 - Omaha (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - Chicago

ELS:jco

(5) CLASSIFIED BY 1412807/100
EXEMPT FROM G. C. CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
pg 1 para 4 pg 2 para 2

REC-35

10 FEB 23 1968



57 FEB 29 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CONFIDENTIAL

CG 100-40903

CCX

and the Russian military intervention in the Hungarian revolution. He would not elaborate on his disenchantment but stated he has done considerable thinking about his past convictions and is now concerned solely with his law practice and efforts to make a decent living for his family. He stated he should have given more thought to this years ago.

SILBAR stated he believes the CP is a dead issue in the United States and no longer constitutes any threat to the internal security of the United States if, in fact, it ever did. He stated he has never considered the communist movement a threat to the security of this country.

[REDACTED]

81

(The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.)

A characterization for the YSA is attached. *for Omaha*

CONFIDENTIAL

SAC, WFO (100-44140)

2/21/68

Director, FBI (100-439048)

1 - Mr. Preusse

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - US... AL
IS - SDS

[REDACTED] to the contact [REDACTED] State, for available pertinent data concerning [REDACTED] listed in [REDACTED] is [REDACTED] [REDACTED] one. Appropriate [REDACTED] should be furnished the Bureau and office of origin [REDACTED]

REFERRED TO CIA
B3
per CIA

The office of origin on each individual should be instructed to immediately furnish the Bureau, under SDS caption, all pertinent data in its files concerning the individual in form suitable for dissemination. The office of origin should also be instructed to open an investigation on the individual and furnish the Bureau under individual caption a report together with its recommendation concerning the individual's Security Index status.

[REDACTED] concerning the individuals [REDACTED] to Cuba upon its receipt.

REFERRED TO CIA
B1, B3
per CIA

Enclosure

- 1 - [REDACTED] B1, B3 per CIA
- 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit

WMP:jav
(6)

NOTE:

[REDACTED]

REFERRED TO CIA
B1
per CIA
Curt

FEB 20 1968

COMM-FBI

MAR 4 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

932 DSK

EX-102
February 26, 1968

100-439048-2227
REC 18 Honorable Charles H. Percy
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

Your communication of February 21st, with enclosures, has been received.

We have received material of this type previously and have very carefully noted it. I cannot comment further concerning the "Radical Education Project" as information in our files must remain confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. However, you may wish to advise your constituent, [redacted] that the FBI will continue to discharge its responsibilities in the internal security field with the highest degree of thoroughness and dispatch. B7C

Your enclosures are being returned to you as requested.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 16
FEB 26 1968
COMM - FBI

Enclosures (4)

NOTE: We have had previous cordial correspondence with Senator Percy. Bufiles reflect no record identifiable with [redacted]. The Radical Education Project is an adjunct of the Student's for Democratic Society which is the subject of an internal security investigation. It is described as "an independent education, research and publication program, initiated by the Students for a Democratic Society devoted to the cause of democratic radicalism, and aspiring to the creation of a new left in America." Upon approval this letter should be forwarded to the Domestic Intelligence Division for any action deemed appropriate.

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HCS:mrc (4)

57 MAR 5 - 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

United States Senate

February 21, 1968

67C

Respectfully referred to

Justice--FBI

for such consideration as the communication
herewith submitted may warrant, and for a report
thereon, in duplicate to accompany return of
inclosure.

By direction of
Charles H. Percy/sj

U. S. S.

ENCLOSURE

EX-102

12 FEB 22 1968

CORRESPONDENCE

EXP-PROC.

36-FEB-23-1968

TRUE COPY

b7c

Feb. 13, 1968

Dear Senator Percy --

Enclosed is some literature that was sent to me, by the
"Radical Education Project."

This kind of project is frightening, and I thought you
should know of it.

These people are practically inciting or planning an
overthrow of our government.

I hope you will take whatever steps you can to either
have the F.B.I. check out this Project or to get it closed down.

Thank you,

b7c

ITC
2-23-68
man

Ack
HCS: Dme
2-26-68
mml

100-439048-2227
8/11/68

Justice
F.B.I.

Jan. 13, 1968

Dear Senator Percy -

Enclosed is some literature that was sent to me, by the "Radical Education Project."

This kind of project is frightening, and I thought you should know of it.

These people are practically investing in planning and overthrow of our government.

I hope you will take whatever steps you can to either have the F.B.I. check out this Project or to get it closed down.

Thank you,
[Redacted] b7C

Radical Education Project

510 EAST WILLIAM STREET • ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48108 • 313 761-1320

An important education, research and publication program, initiated by Students for a Democratic Society, devoted to the cause of democratic radicalism and aspiring to the creation of a new left in America.

Dear Friend:

Our planet is bursting with existence. People who have lived too long in the shadow of official Western history are discovering that they exist. The catastrophe of our time is that our system and its leadership oppose this insurgency of birthright. The purpose of the Movement, called the New Left, is to change this system to one that will be an invitation to every man to share with his brothers the fruits of abundance and the possibility of freedom. The Movement exists and will grow.

It will grow because more and more of us are finding it impossible to create a science that is used to murder; impossible to study the nature of society while ignoring our own deeds; impossible to accept a cultural standard that avoids the blood in the streets and the hunger-infested shelters of more than half of our brothers; impossible to enjoy the fruits picked by those who must drop all of them into our laps; impossible to find bearable a language of hope that is used to justify murder; impossible not to accept our responsibility to be radicals. And to be so effectively we must be educated to the reality of what is, to the possibility of what ought to be, and to an analysis which enables us to get there.

The Radical Education Project (REP), initiated by Students for a Democratic Society, has been organized as an intellectual center for the New Left Movement in America. Its primary functions are to document and to analyze and to discover new perceptions. Where our system causes injustice we must document it. Where there is corruption and privilege we must expose it. How change has been created elsewhere must be analyzed. Politics is persuasion and strategy and perception of a goal. Analysis is the beginning of persuasion, the beginning of strategy, and a light on the future.

REP is in urgent need of scientific, social, and artistic skills, and in urgent need of money.

REP asks you to turn your skills and your affluence to the awesome job of remaking America.

The REP Staff

2 ENCLOSURE 100

2221

THE RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT: An Introduction and an Invitation.

REP is an effort by activists and intellectuals to develop a research, education, and publication center designed to serve the new educational needs of the movement toward a new left in America.

REP invites the participation of all people who identify with the forces of radical democracy in America and abroad. We seek everyone who can make a contribution to the intellectual and educational work of research, speculation, writing and speaking. The work of radical education is a necessary precondition for effective politics.

The movement sees three central needs. From them REP defines three objectives:

- 1) The need for competent research on the issues of left program and theory. It is no recent revelation that the theoretical framework of the left needs development in terms of the contemporary character of imperialism, capitalism, mass culture, technology, abundance, and in terms of the experience of socialist revolutions and American reforms. Nor is it a new discovery that the left is starved for the hard data, documentation and concrete proposals necessary for effective political action. REP seeks fact and theory and program.
- 2) The need to educate the student activists who are now drawn toward the radical movement on "single issues" such as Vietnam or poverty, or on "gut reaction" against the whole of American society. Unless action is supported by education youthful recruits are soon lost. A chief job of the student movement is to provide activists with the intellectual equipment and tools of social analysis necessary to sustain radical value commitment once away from the campus. REP seeks to develop needed educational resources.
- 3) The need to extend the movement beyond students and the most dispossessed. While one can lament the obvious fact that a politically significant left does not exist in America, it is clear that to build such requires striking roots in the professions, among university faculties, in the arts and in many of the "mass organizations" like churches, unions, etc. Not only will the radical sympathies that lie in these diverse social locations be mobilized, but these people will be included and engaged in developing a radical program for the transformation of the particular conditions of their own life and work. Radical education can help to broaden the scope of the movement.

The narrowness of the movement prevents it from describing a perspective which can define for a teacher radical work, as a teacher, for a researcher or a doctor or lawyer, or artist or writer, radical work that draws on his particular talents and affects his particular part of society. The consequence is that most people support occasional protests and otherwise withdraw into cynicism.

The movement believes that radicals must make their politics manifest in their daily life and work. There is no politically neutral activity. The use of one's talents, the direction of one's energies, has effect. The greatest moral and political challenge facing leftists is how both to live in America, to work in the institutions which provide income and status -- and yet to change America. We don't have simple answers. And we approach this problem humbly, as one which affects and torments all of us.

REP seeks to create a framework in which people can create for themselves radical vocations which both affirm their individual talents and training and infuse their work with a moral and political purpose.

Our Politics:

REP identifies with a community and vision of democratic radicalism, humanistic, committed to individual freedom and the general welfare. This community does not start with a political line. It recognizes that ideology, theory, are essential for a political movement. But ideology is not an intellectual overlay. It must develop organically out of the interaction between political experience and continual analysis. REP hopes to provide educational assistance to this process by a publications program that encourages analysis, checks old theory against current fact and experience, and distills from experience new theory and new implications for action.

We seek clarity of values, precision in social criticism, concreteness in projecting both utopian alternatives and immediate reforms. We seek, by using all the tools of intellect and intuition, a view of the dynamics of history and social change that suggests the forms of human intervention which can transform the present into a future fit for man.

While this community of democratic radicalism does not start with a prepackaged ideology, it does begin with some convictions. Formulations are tentative, if only to avoid retreat to the slogans and clichés that have too long dominated the left and impeded self-analysis. Yet, the need for continual refinement of analysis does not imply permanent agnosticism, the postponement of assertion or the retreat from action. These are beliefs shared by this community:

--that the great promise of American abundance is perverted and thwarted by the functioning of contemporary capitalism.

--that privilege, exploitation, inequality as components of class division of labor are no longer necessary, if they ever were, as conditions for abundance.

--that the possibility of still greater wealth for some Americans can not justify a political economy based on the exploitation of other countries and the continued poverty and oppression of their populations.

--that the forms of democracy cannot be judged in the abstract, apart from the actual freedom and humanness which they allow and the actual accountability of the holders of power to those affected by the decisions of power.

--that in America, where formal democracy is highly developed, the important decisions governing the course of social development and the quality of individual life and opportunity are not democratically made or accountable.

--that America is held in political and moral stalemate not only by sheer economic and political force, but also by a deadening ideology of national chauvinism, celebrating the American Way of Life, the American Dream, the American Century.

--that anti-communism is a central element in this ideological manipulation of belief, of what is true, what is good, what is possible, what is necessary. It provides the cover to "rationalize" the most brutal applications of military and economic power.

--that violent revolution is to be recognized and deplored for its high human cost; but that where the oppressed lack political power violent overthrow may be the necessary, though not sufficient, precondition to economic and political freedom.

--that issues such as the war in Vietnam or the oppression of the American underclass cry out for action. The work for long-term research, education, organization, theory, does not relieve the urgent need for immediate protest.

These statements are certainly no catechism. They do begin to define a political perspective. If your disagreements are marginal -- questions of qualifiers, semantics, omissions, implications, emphases -- then we consider you a colleague and associate. We invite your participation in REP and in the collective work of radical education to clarify belief and infuse action with analysis. If your disagreements are central and substantive, then we consider you audience and antagonist. We invite your participation in political debate.

REP is non-exclusionist. We reject the rhetoric of anti-communism and the myth of human affairs as a morality play between the forces of good and evil, capitalist freedom and communist slavery. We are open to all those who would feel comfortable in our company. Our criteria of judgment in matters of politics and belief will be facts, argument, and values.

The Scope of REP:

The REP staff has prepared a prospectus for the project which describes in detail the range of subject matter which we see as relevant and for which we are recruiting competence. If you are interested in the project, we will send you this prospectus. Here we want simply to indicate the scope of our concern.

I. Values and Utopias: The foundation of a movement is its moral position, its aspiration, its assertion of the possible and the desirable. The value issues of democracy, individual freedom, and general welfare in industrial society and in revolutionary ferment are complex, but that does not make them less important. Political judgments are ultimately value judgments. But more than clarity about values in the abstract, we need to develop concrete models of the structure of institutions and social relations that would embody our shared ideals -- the nature of work and income, the control of production, the process of education, the styles of family life, the political institutions necessary for participatory democracy.

II. Analysis of Myths and Realities: The major part of REP work, and the major intellectual and educational need of the movement, is that analysis of what exists, of the myths through which people understand or misunderstand reality, and of the contradictions between myth and reality which provide leverage for change. Special studies will be organized on:

- ** the American ideology (pluralism, corporatism, anti-communism, etc.)
- ** the world reality: international political economy, western Europe, the third world, global conditions and issues.
- ** problems and structures of the national political economy.
- ** cultural institutions in tension.
- ** mass media and the arts.

III. Strategies for Change: The movement needs to analyze not only the targets of change and the forces of motion in society, but also how to orient and develop its own resources in terms of those forces. REP projects an educational program of publishing five types of studies in this area:

- ** an analysis of social movements and revolution, both in America and elsewhere in terms of their relevance to the contemporary situation.
- ** articulation and debate between various theoretical conceptions of political strategy.
- ** analysis of the movement itself and identification of current strategic issues.
- ** an analysis of agents of reform and potential agents of change in America.

Finally we seek studies that will try to identify the current issues of struggle in America and make concrete proposals which are relevant to the immediate aspirations of those in struggle, but which expose the institutional blocks to significant change. Such issues requiring specific analysis and proposals include (besides the War and poverty): university education, urban planning and renewal, automation and employment, income, welfare, collective bargaining, economic development, etc.

5 ~~TH~~

We are seeking people who have interests and competence in these areas to work with REP in preparing these studies.

Activities:

In the few months since its initiation, REP has drawn together a nucleus of people who have made commitments to work and who have begun a wide variety of research and writing activities. Some of these programs are described below. The REP prospectus elaborates a long-range agenda for radical education, giving details of these and other programs that will be possible as people make commitments to work on them. The fulfillment of these programs -- and their expansion -- clearly depends on the intellectual commitment and financial contribution of supporters.

Seminars and study groups: The establishment of an ongoing program of self-education in local chapters and projects of the movement is a high priority of REP. A first step is the aid and encouragement of seminars and the establishment of a speakers bureau. We are seeking competent intellectuals in the movement to prepare seminar guides, speakers lists, papers, bibliographies, literature packets, and other educational tools on a wide range of topics: imperialism, relationships between foreign and domestic policy, the American economy, socialism, democracy under capitalism, Vietnam, poverty, community organization, South Africa, etc. Study guides now available include ones on the New Left, power and decision-making in America, Marxism, history of American radicalism, U.S. foreign policy and imperialism, European radicalism. Also available from REP: a film catalogue which includes a guide on how to set up a local film program; a fifty-minute tape recording "The Pragmatic Warriors", which is a montage of interviews with soldiers in Vietnam, collected from several months of news broadcasts (\$2.50, prepaid); and a preliminary speakers bureau list.

While most of the seminars will be run informally and independently, an effort will be made to cooperate with "Free University" programs and, where possible, to get programs introduced into the regular college curriculum. At a later stage we hope to be able to develop "traveling workshops" that would bring teams of people with complementary areas of competence to a locale for intensive programs of coordinated education. Resources permitting, we plan to make our educational services available to any group willing to entertain a radical perspective.

Summer Research Projects: REP is planning to organize several summer projects, with five to ten students working in each one, to carry out various kinds of power structure research. Some will work in major cities and seek to name and define the banking-business-political power elites of those cities, and to analyze the decision-making power they wield. Other projects will strive to uncover the kinds of U.S. business and government involvement in foreign countries, and will gather the data that is a prerequisite to factual analysis of the U.S. role in international relations. If possible, a summer research project on migrant labor will also be formed. These projects will be led by competent research directors. Applications will be sought shortly from students and others who would like to work in one of REP's Summer Research Projects.

Reconstruction of academic theory and teaching: REP associates have begun preparation of pamphlet guides to introductory liberal arts courses in Economics and Anthropology. These outlines will try to expose and analyze the biases and limitations of conventional undergraduate teaching and textbooks: the values implied in accepted theory, the assumptions hidden in canonized methodology, the questions unasked, the data and theories neglected, the conditions of the real world overlooked, the history untold, the indoctrination accomplished. There is need for similar work in Sociology, Political Science, History, Philosophy, the Humanities -- indeed in every department of professional knowledge on the advanced as well as introductory level. In Ann Arbor, REP has gathered a group of radical faculty and graduate students who have begun critical discussion on the methods and premises of their academic disciplines. What is needed, in fact, is a group of radical intellectuals to develop a coherent and documented critique of the academic disciplines as a whole, showing how the methods and content reinforce the dominant interests and propensities of the system, and how they block innovation. Course pamphlets and

Papers from the New Left: REP is currently working on a book, to be published by Doubleday-Ancor, including more than fifteen essays of original analysis written by young radical intellectuals in the new left. These papers are attempting to systematize both the empirical foundation and theoretical orientation from which the movement looks at such issues as corporatism, imperialism, the welfare state, planning, education, the war on poverty and ~~university~~ for progress, race, work and leisure, electoral politics, mass culture, participatory democracy, ~~liberalism~~ form.

International intelligence network: REP is assisting the development of a network of people, in the U.S. and abroad, closely tuned to international events, who will serve the movement as quick, incisive sources of intelligence on issues as they develop -- and before. Such a network, including scholars, journalists, leftist youth leaders, government officials, guerrilla leaders, etc., can provide us with first-hand reports and analysis of the action of insurgent movements, the working of the foreign policy apparatus, hints of impending developments. Already we have contacts in Latin America, Japan, most European countries and Canada, with Vietnamese rebels and neutrals, African nationalists, and others. These contacts will be extended, particularly as American scholars with special knowledge and contacts affiliate. One former staff member visited Guatemala last summer where he made extensive contacts with Guatemalan guerrillas. On the basis of such contacts we can greatly improve the ability of the movement to produce documented political analysis, to make independent judgments, to challenge "official truth" and to base political opposition.

As a first major step in this direction, REP helped to initiate and is co-sponsoring the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA). Sponsored primarily by the University Christian Movement, in consultation with REP, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and SNCC, NACLA is coordinating research, monitoring information, and maintaining contacts between radical student, church, and academic groups in this hemisphere.

Nations series: REP is undertaking to have a series of pamphlets prepared summarizing information about other countries: the nature of their politics, parties, factions, contending positions, economic structure and development, character of the democratic opposition, their international relations, the role of U.S. business, political and military interests in the country, the position in the cold war and third world power contexts, etc. REP is seeking radical scholars who will plan and carry to completion the task of writing these pamphlets, which in their current and accurate presentations will help inform the movement and reinforce its radical critique of America.

Issues of strategy in the movement: REP will undertake analysis of various strategic theories that are current on the left: reform coalitions, third party organization, permeation, non-violence, independent insurgency. A REP study group on "Agents of Change" is already at work. A series of papers on community organizing is being collected and will be published.

Class in America: REP is undertaking to foster a number of studies on the nature of class structure in America, its relationship to political power, economic and social aspirations, belief in the American ideology, etc. An exploratory study is anticipated, reexamining a range of existing data on political consciousness of blue collar workers, with the hope of developing a new view of working class politics and laying out new areas of research. We have produced a paper outlining the nature of class division between the underclass and the affluent with particular reference to the war on poverty and the viability of welfare state reforms.

The professions: REP is attempting to catalyze organizing conferences of radicals in, or preparing for, the various professions. Work has begun for development of planning groups in social work, health, law, school teaching, the ministry. The first conference of radicals in the professions may be called early this summer. The aims of these conferences will be to bring together from dispersed geographical locations people sharing political perspective and professional location; to discuss ways to influence the service quality and social impact of the

profession; to plan pamphlets and speaking programs aimed at intervening in the process of professional education, making values explicit; to formulate programs that could improve professional practice; to organize (or support existing) professional associations or caucuses committed to radical social involvement.

The arts and mass media: REP seeks to understand the ideological functioning of art and the mass media, the relationship between aesthetic and political consciousness, and the potential of the arts and mass media as instruments of change. Research will examine the way in which art and the mass media are created and controlled, how they are perceived by their public, and the role they actually play in forming taste, thought patterns and opinions. Studies will seek to locate and encourage elements within the arts and media favorable to radical change. They will explore how artists and their arts contribute to the quality and perspective of the movement for democratic change in America.

Publishing strategy: REP hopes to be able to serve as a publishing center with resources sufficient to publish and distribute literature in quantities commensurate with the growing size of the radical movement. We have recently initiated a series of REP Occasional Papers. The first, "Towards a Democratic History", by Jesse Lemisch, is already published. It provides an excellent critique of the methodology, use of sources, and presuppositions in conventional American history. "The End of Ideology as Ideology" will be published shortly as the second in this series of Occasional Papers.

The REP Bulletin: REP hopes to publish a Bulletin that will be distributed to SDS members, REP associates, and other subscribers. It will contain original research, issue analysis, book reviews, short papers, seminar outlines, bibliography, abstracts of articles from other publications, letters and discussion, conference notes, etc. Bulletin publication will begin as we have money and as editorial work is completed. As a temporary measure, until resources and staff for a Bulletin are available, a REP Newsletter, giving current information about REP activities, is now being published.

Work and Money: REP will complete its ongoing program and expand into other areas as people volunteer to do the work and provide the money. We are now recruiting staff for the REP national office in Ann Arbor, and coordinators, anywhere, to take on responsibility in promoting particular content areas of analysis. A nine person REP Advisory Committee, that is chosen by SDS, helps advise REP on the educational needs and priorities of the movement. A set of editorial guidelines for the initiation of program and research is available from the REP office; these also help insure the quality and relevance of REP work. The kinds of tasks we are inviting people to undertake include: research, writing, editing, speaking, consulting with students and activists in the movement. We hope that people who share the political ideals of the movement in these tasks will find a way to make intellectually relevant and creative use of their particular talents, competences, and experience.

If you want REP to survive and to fulfill its promise, your intellectual commitment is necessary.

Funds: REP is incorporated as a non-profit, educational organization, with its tax-exempt status pending. Of course it has no money. Of course it freeloads where it can. Of course, the staff is starving. Of course it will seek support from foundations and private donors. ULTIMATELY, though, the project will depend on the small contributions and monthly pledges of those individuals who support its objectives and participate in its activities.

If you want REP to survive and to fulfill its promise, your financial support is essential.

Associates and advisors: Supporters of the project will be considered associates of REP. We are inviting a number of associates to help as "advisors" in promotion, criticism of research,

program organization, fundraising and other tasks. A partial list of advisers to this time is:

Ralph Andreano; Fr. Philip Berrigan, SSJ; Julian Bond; Robert S. Browne; Richard A. Cloward; Stanley Diamond; Douglas F. Dowd; Hal Draper; Barrows Dunham; Robert Engler; Jules Feiffer; W. H. Ferry; Dr. Philip S. Foner; Norm Fruchter; William A. Ganson; Julien Gendell; John Gerassi; Ernest Goodman; Paul Goodman; Nat Hentoff; David Horowitz; Leo Huberman; Raghavan Iyer; Paul Jacobs; Julius Jacobson; Gabriel Kolko; Andrew Kopkind; William Kunstler; Paul Lauter; Richard Lichtman; Staughton Lynd; Herbert Marcuse; Seymour Melman; Jack Minnis; Barrington Moore, Jr.; Linus Pauling; Victor Perlo; Bishop James A. Pike; Anatol Rapoport; Marcus Raskin; Kenneth Rexroth; Sumner M. Rosen; Richard Shaull; Sol Stern; Harvey Swados; Michael Walzer; Arthur I. Waskow; Harvey Wheeler; William Appleman Williams; Marshall Windmiller; Howard Zinn.

The REP staff is currently: Evelyn Goldfield, Michael Goldfield, Jim Jacobs (on leave), Steve Weissman, Steve Johnson, Rita Sutcliffe, Linda Kerley, and Alice Fialkin.

Radical Education Project
510 East William Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48108

Radical Education Project, 510 East William St., Ann Arbor, Michigan 48108

Name _____

Address _____

_____ zip code _____ age _____

Occupation _____

Major interests _____

REP depends on your immediate contribution for support
and your monthly pledge for continued functioning.

() Enclosed is a contribution of \$ _____ to the work of REP.

() I pledge \$ _____ /month to the continued support of REP.

() Please send a copy of the REP prospectus.

() I have enclosed a letter describing my interests, papers I have written, work I am doing, and activity I would like to undertake for REP.

REP is incorporated as a non-profit educational organization. Its tax-exempt status is pending with the Internal Revenue Service. Contributions of over \$10.00 will be receipted and contributors notified as to tax status.

Literature available from the RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT January 1968

AMERICAN EDUCATION

- 10¢ The Mind of Clark Kerr: Liberal as Proto-Fascist by Hal Draper
- 10¢ Anthropology and Imperialism by Kathleen Axtell
- 10¢ The Black School: Notes by George Lannison
- 10¢ ~~Chinese~~ ~~United States~~ ~~United States~~ ~~United States~~ Ceremonies of Humiliation in School by Martin N. Fribenstein
- 10¢ The Iceberg Strategy: Universities and the Military Industrial Complex by Martin Nicolaus
- 10¢ Democracy and the University by Richard K. Pope

THE GHETTO

- 10¢ Ghetto Redevelopment: Corporate Imperialism for the Poor by Richard Cloward and Frances Piven
- 10¢ Black Power: SNCC Speaks for Itself
- 10¢ Medical Ghettos by Anselm L. Straus

LABOR

- 10¢ Wildcat: Anatomy of a Work Stoppage by Steve Fox
- 10¢ The UAW Settles with Ford by Jim Jacobs

POLITICAL ECONOMY

- 10¢ The Contradiction of Advanced Capitalist Society and Its Resolution by Martin Nicolaus

LATIN AMERICA

- 20¢ The Long March in Latin America; Guerrilla Movements: Theory and Practice by Regis Debray
- 10¢ Exploitation or Aid? U.S.-Brazil Economic Relations. A case study of American Imperialism by Andrew Gunder Frank
- 10¢ On the Mechanisms of Imperialism: The Case of Brazil A sequel to "Exploitation or Aid" by Andrew Gunder Frank
- 10¢ The Argument of Latin America: Words for North Americans by Carlos Fuentes

CHINA Kit all 19 papers only \$2.25

- 15¢ U S Relations with China - Dean Acheson
- 20¢ Chinese Aggression: Myth or Menace? - Charles Burchill
- 20¢ Democracy in China - Gyan Chand
- 10¢ Report on the Cultural Revolution - Dave Dellinger (from Liberation)
- 15¢ China and the Cold War - John Gittings
- 15¢ Agrarian Policies - John Gray
- 15¢ A Divorce Trial in China - Felix Greene
- 15¢ Visit to a Rural Commune - Felix Greene
- 15¢ Chinese Foreign Policy - Morton Halperin and Dwight Perkins
- 15¢ The Cultural Revolution in China: A Socialist Analysis by Huberman and Sweezy
- 15¢ Lin Biao: Long Live the Victory of People's War! (synopsis)
- 20¢ Mao: Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature (1942)
- 10¢ Socialist Man and the Chinese Revolution: the basis of the cultural revolution - Donald McKelvey
- 15¢ Tibet: Tradition vs Reform - George Moseley
- 15¢ Revolution and U S Aggression - by a top Chinese official ("Observer")
- 20¢ A Marxist Interpretation of Chinese History - M N Roy
- 15¢ China's War-Making Potential: An appreciation - Major M A Shackleton
- 15¢ The Rise of the People's Communes - Anna Louise Strong
- 15¢ Mineral Wealth and Industrial Power - K P Wang (US Bureau of Mines)

FBI

Date: 2/6/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-138315)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-42717)

SUBJECT: VIDEM

Remytels to Director, FBI, dated 1/31, 2/2, 3, and 4/68 captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 14 copies of an LHM concerning demonstration at Loyola University, Chicago, commencement exercises, Mc Gaw Hall, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, on 2/4/68.

[REDACTED]

- 7 - Bureau (Enc. 14)
 - (1 - 100-439048) (SDS)
 - (1 - 100-444827) (CIPA)
 - (1 - 100-445405) (Veterans For Peace)
 - (1 - 25-47964) (CADRE)
- 6 - Chicago
 - (1 - 100-40903) (SDS)
 - (1 - 100-42396) (CIPA)
 - (1 - 100-42556) (Veterans For Peace)
 - (1 - 100-44280) (CADRE)
 - (1 - 25-47964) (CADRE)

DJH: kmg
(13)

CARBON COPY

100-431048-

NOT RECORDED
128 FEB 14 1968

ENCLOSURE

MAR 1 1968

Approved: _____

50 FEB

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

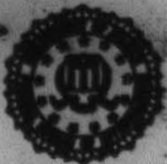
ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-158315-8961

CG 100-42717

Copies of enclosed LHM are being disseminated to USA, Secret Service, Chicago, and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois. Pertinent portions furnished telephonically to U. S. State Department, Chicago, Intelligence Unit, Chicago PD, Evanston PD, and Campus Police, Northwestern University. Pertinent information as needed was orally furnished to the above agencies on a day-to-day basis regarding the demonstration.

This LHM has been classified confidential in order to protect the aforementioned sources who are of continuing value, the identities of whom could possibly jeopardize their future effectiveness.

Chicago files contain insufficient information to subversively characterize those organizations mentioned in the LHM not subversively characterized.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

February 6, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-42717

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING
UNITED STATES INTERVENTION
IN VIET NAM

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 24, 1968, that students from Northwestern University (NU), Evanston, Illinois, who oppose the United States foreign policy in Viet Nam, planned to protest the appearance of Secretary of State Dean Rusk at the commencement exercises of Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, to be held at Mc Gaw Hall, NU, Evanston, Illinois, February 4, 1968.

Dean Rusk was to receive an honorary Doctor of Laws Degree at the exercises.

"Real Press" underground newspaper, NU, Evanston, Illinois, issue of January 29, 1968, in Volume 1, Number 11, Page 2, contained an article concerning Rusk's appearance at the commencement exercises. The article stated several universities plan a peaceful demonstration in the east parking lot outside Mc Gaw Hall. All Chicago-area high schools and universities were to be advised of the demonstration and urged to participate.

A [redacted] source, an agency which collects security-type information in the Chicago area, advised on January 26, 1968, that a leaflet was being distributed urging people to come to NU during Rusk's appearance. This leaflet urged persons from all over Chicago; such as Students For a Democratic Society (SDS), Committee For Independent Political Action (CIPA), and Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE) to participate in the demonstration. This source further advised Veterans For Peace in Viet Nam (VFP) will also participate in the demonstration. This source further advised that some demonstrators may try to infiltrate Mc Gaw Hall and during the course of Dean Rusk's speech, were to get up and leave the hall as an act of protest. 870

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

100-439018-1

**DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING
UNITED STATES INTERVENTION
IN VIET NAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

This [redacted] source advised on February 3, 1968, that Rusk's appearance at Loyola University, Chicago, commencement exercises, to be held at Mc Gaw Hall, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, had been cancelled. b7D

The [redacted] source advised on February 4, 1968, that the Loyola University, Chicago, commencement exercises at Mc Gaw Hall, NU, were held as scheduled. Approximately 300 persons, including students, adults and children, and several clergymen, formed outside Mc Gaw Hall entrance and several persons were carrying placards calling for an end to the Viet Nam war. Approximately six demonstrators attempted to gain entrance to the ceremonies and were turned away by campus police and ushers. There were no other incidents and there were no arrests. The demonstration was otherwise peaceful.

The participating organizations were identified as SDS and VFP.

A characterization of SDS is contained in the appendix section attached hereto.

The following persons were advised of the activities set forth in this communication.

[redacted] Region I, 113th MI Group,
Evanston, Illinois

[redacted] United States Secret Service,
Chicago, Illinois b7C

Assistant United States Attorney Lawrence T.
Stanner, United States Attorney's Office, Chicago,
Illinois

[redacted] United
States State Department, Chicago, Illinois

CONFIDENTIAL

**DEMONSTRATION PROTESTING
UNITED STATES INTERVENTION
IN VIET NAM**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] Intelligence Unit,
Chicago Police Department, Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED] Evanston Police Department,
Evanston, Illinois

[REDACTED] Northwestern
University, Evanston, Illinois

87C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALI, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 4-20-67)

12/12/67

BU 100-439068

To: _____

FILE CG 100-40903

☒ Director

Internal Security Section

Room 932, 9th & D

Title COMMFIL, STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

☐ SAC

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

RE: _____

☐ Rotor #: _____

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline _____

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☒ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Serial # _____

☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return

☐ Send to _____

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by _____

☐ Type

Attached is one copy of "New Left Notes",
Volume 2, # 43, issue of 12/4/67. This copy
does not have to be retained for evidentiary
purposes.

Encl. 1
REGISTERED

SAC

M.W. JOHNSON

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

See reverse side

Office

Chicago

MAR 1 1968

66DEC 28 1967

NOT RECORDED

12 DEC 22 1967

On the Hershey Case

Repression, subjugation, and their profound consequences during the last ten years particularly, have been contributing the American public that for the majority of the population there is a special order of repression—other than service in uniform—that for the man having the capacity, dedicated service as a civilian in such fields as engineering, the sciences, and teaching constitutes the ultimate in their expression of patriotism. A large segment of the American public has been convinced that this is true.

Following is a short passage from a Selective Service document entitled "On Channeling".

Delivery of manpower for induction, the process of providing a few thousand men with transportation to a reception center, is not much of an administrative or financial challenge. It is in dealing with the other millions of registrants that the system is heavily occupied, developing more effective human beings in the national

is to be such given—particular if it is form of repression leaves the enemy totally vulnerable.

Secondly, in the light of our recurring demands about the inevitability of the "repression", we have been offered a unique opportunity to fight repression on the best grounds available: openly, publicly, nationally. By entering a suit against Hershey, we engage in a political offensive. Furthermore, the real history of the "SDS et al versus General Hershey" case is that we cannot possibly lose. Hershey's arguments are such a clear violation of the most clearly guaranteed

legion. The minority, SDS and a small group of liberal student organizations filed suit against General Hershey, seeking to explain him from enforcement of his statement.

Given the rather unique style of SDS and its general aversion to becoming involved in any political activity which is defined by the liberal establishment, the decision of the National Interim Committee to enter a legal suit against anyone might seem extraordinary. (This for example Carl Davidson's statement at the National Guardian's conference that if Joe Pool of BUAC served him a subpoena,

The International Days of Resistance

or

10 Days to Shake the Empire

by Carl Davidson and Greg Calvert, NYC

The discussion of the National Mobilization Committee (NMCC) during the NMCC meeting was, in many ways, a microcosm and repetition of the debate going on within the SDS membership for the last two years. However, there were significant differences. Most of us felt a new responsibility for SDS to respond creatively and constructively to a growing anti-war movement which had reached a new level of development.

In the past, national SDS stood apart from the wheelings and dealings of the various mobilization committees. Somewhere, we felt the tactic of big demonstrations, headqu岸ing; we talked about "expanding to stop the seventh war from here". We separated ourselves from the anti-war marches by holding on to a program of on-going multi-issue, local organizing. Our rhetoric called for the development of permanent radical consciousness with a capacity for long-term resistance, rather than the broadening of an anti-war consciousness committed mainly to protest activities.

due to the participation of our local membership. The draft became a major issue at our headquarters. And the themes of Black liberation and the powerlessness of the poor were woven into the movement rhetoric partially as a result of our pressure.

Nevertheless, we made several serious political mistakes. First, we assumed that since we had tired of marches and protests, that everyone else had grown weary of these tactics as well. We failed to grasp the importance for others to

continued on page 2

PLAN FOR THE DECEMBER NC BLOOMINGTON IND.

DETAILS. PAGE 2

continued on page 2

NEW LEFT NOTES

SDS · 1608 W · MADISON · CHICAGO · ILL.

Volume 2 Number 63

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

December 6, 1967

SDS JOINS SUIT AGAINST HERSHEY

The Case for the Case: Fighting Political Repression

On Oct. 26, General Hershey of SDS issued his infamous letter to draft boards. "Advisants are given only when they serve the national interest. It is obvious that any action that violates the military Selective Service Act or the regulations or the related processes cannot be in the national interest. It follows that those who violate them should be drafted deferment in the national interest. It also follows that illegal activity which involves with recruiting or causing refusal of duty in the military or naval forces could not by any stretch of the imagination be construed as being in

the national interest. In Davidson—would tall hairless Joe "be above it up his ass"? That attitude reflects an almost hysterical political tactical sense in SDS that "you don't let the enemy define the battleground". In general, that New Left sense of tactics has been sound. Why then did the NSC decide to become engaged in a court battle?

First, it is essential to understand that General Hershey's threat is not an isolated case of local harassment but rather an all-out attempt at the national level to use a powerfully organized system of coercion to destroy the New Left. As such, it constitutes the first systematic attempt at the political suppression of our organization and the suppression of

civil and political freedoms that allow the rulers of America must back down or they must abrogate bourgeois civil liberties and resort to open fascism in order to control political opposition. Somewhere we had all assumed that the New Left would be picked off—one by one—that we would be destroyed as isolated individuals or in small defenseless groups. General Hershey has offered the opportunity to break out of our isolation and to build the kind of public legal battles against repression which provide the kind of intermediary buffers necessary to sustain our political work in a non-revolutionary situation.

From the point of view of America's ruling class, Hershey's statement can only be regarded as a colossal blunder. For, by handing by the ruling class and its lackeys, their contradictions, must always be an opportunity to move ahead.

Many SDSers will ask themselves why we have become involved in a legal action which involves, as so-called liberals, a broad range of corporate liberal and left-liberal organizations including the National Student Association, the Campus ADA, UCM, and a large number of student owned pressboards. Are we selling out to the liberals? Are we becoming engaged in coalition politics which will bring us under-down our revolution?

No. On the contrary. Our opposition to the liberal class-liberalism politics is not based on formalistic arguments regarding legality versus illegality. Our radicalism is based on a non-revolutionary situation.

continued on page 3

They do allow individuals to see the extremes of dogmatism and the ego-grasping and political games that stem from them.

In the past year or two SDS has taken a very dogmatic line. It pretends to know what is wrong with this society, what it should be like, and how it should get there. It talks of revolution, but when has that ever achieved anything? I always get frightened when I hear someone who claims to "know" just how to change things. Our society is so complex that the effects it can have affect totally unrelated spheres. An example: lockouts of restaurants in some Southern towns has meant the bankruptcy of some Black restaurants as Blacks preferred the white ones when they could enter.

Although SDS claims that it is anxious to try to treat just the symptoms of the illness of our society, and the significant change will come only with revolution, it forgets that technological progress and attitudes of individuals can and must have effect on society. We have forgotten that. The "Hijacker" says if this society is corrupt we will drop out of it. Then it will change because they will react to lack because we love and broadcast love and

DECEMBER 27 - 31: NATIONAL COUNCIL BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

CHAPTERS MISSING TO BE REPRESENTED AT THE NC SHOULD ELECT THEIR DELEGATES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND SEND THEIR NAMES IN TO THE NATIONAL OFFICE BY DECEMBER 29TH.

All local chapters wishing to be officially recognized by national side at the December NC should send immediately to the N.O.:

- A) the names of at least 5 national members
- B) a chapter constitution or statement of purpose (can be brief - must be non-exclusionary and in broad general agreement with the aims and principles of national side.)
- C) a request for official recognition as a local chapter of national side.

Chapters that are recognized at the NC will be eligible to be represented there by voting delegates (the number of delegates is determined by the number of national members there are in the chapter - one delegate for the first 5 to 25 members or part thereof - i.e., 51 national members = 3 voting delegates.)

WATCH NEW LEFT NOTES FOR FURTHER DETAILS

As a result, the interests of the military and corporate industrial leadership are subordinated to the interests of the nation. This system of indirect control has been in operation for a long time. What is new is the recent threat by General Hareday to extend the scope of the coercion. General Hareday has suggested

liberals and ends which it feels are not those of the nation. Furthermore, it has right against this attempt to suppress the political opposition of the New Left.

At present, that opposition has mostly manifested itself in our struggle against the war in Vietnam. It is our firm belief that the U.S. government's gradualist war of aggression against the Vietnamese people and its imperialistic foreign policy in general are not in the best interests of the American people and the people of the Third World. We will continue our resistance to the foreign policy, to the selective service system, and to all other institutions that make these policies of aggression possible.

We want more rights to make it clear that we are entering this case not to protect the privileged status of students or the system of temporary classroom, but to reveal the dangerous escalation of the repression of political opposition in America.

We insist that it is not only our constitutional right but also our duty to the American people to work for the redaction of those ends which are truly in the interests of the nation.

The Case for the Case

continued from page 1

on a historical-social certitude that we are "right"—in our analysis, our vision, and our actions.

In abstraction, above liberals agree with our vision, our goals. In action, these liberals believe that the values which we may share can be realized within the defined limits of political activity which are given to us. Liberals share a conviction that those values cannot be realized except in a totally new context of political action and social reality. The "Hareday Case" is our opportunity to join with them in the testing of our premises—and thereby, to discover the "constitutional right to dissent". We argue (and the press side-

ment) that it involves the legally established right to political freedom—the right and the duty to find a revolutionary alternative to the "national interest" as defined by General Hareday and the agency—liberals which he represents. It is true that the liberals may dissent as the "Hareday Case" offers us the opportunity to test that political question as a public, a political act. One says that as long as people are in certain institutions so long with them within those institutions with their belief or our existing premises have to be historically viable.

Mike Spiegel
Greg Calvert
National Liberal Committee

new left notes

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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Vol 2, No 43

Let the people decide

Dec. 4, 1967

LETTERS

Editors:

Brother Clarence Major's piece on "Hippies" on the Lower East Side was informative, but inaccurate in major facts which were omitted. The Hippie phenomenon is basically a combination of revolt against the hypocrisy of this system, and revolt against regulations forced upon youth by the Establishment, and a desire to avoid responsibility as long as possible while trying to determine a non-conformist role in the framework of society. On the subject, primarity of earning a living.

Unfortunately, the leadership/Code of this group (Abbie Hoffman, Dean Hall) have no concern with this group of kids' (that's what they are) welfare or life. They encourage youths to run away while failing to provide adequate shelter or food for them. Since no employer will employ an underage high-school drop-out, most of these kids are forced to become school-dime dealers or into adult forms of prostitution (Live with Me)—in fact they become part of a society which is harder, cruder, and rougher than the worst that the Establishment has to offer. Whenever large quantities of drugs are dealt, "Love" loses its significance and "bread" gains. The Lower East Side drug scene is a jungle since it is one of the main distribution points nationally. Don't be afraid to make that statement in print—even the kids know that. Like my jungle it hardens people up—or fucks them up. Those who become good dealers are fit to enter any business on management level—There are banks, hotels, and breaks in the line.

Something should be done to provide an orientation to get the kids to see the hypocrisy of their leaders/Code and to prevent them from falling into a few sort of John Wayne, Dr. Jekyll, etc. etc.

godness. If words, I have every seen it work on cops.

When we have power we play games with it and work with it like any old-line politician. In that sense then, we are still playing the same old game of politics. These innocent kids see it and sense it. When we act like they see our hypocrisy and tell us, but we say they do not understand—They understand only too well. We often laugh at these things among ourselves later, much later. But being the big tough men and women we are we will never let the world know, we might have to laugh at ourselves. Well the "Hippies" are laughing because they can see through a facade.

Vive Love,

Ed Rosenfield

N. Y. Regional SDS

Youngstown State U., P.O.D. 67

Dear Editor,

That Marty's article "On Resistance Strategy" (11/20/67) made interesting reading, but there is a gross mistake at the end that I wish to comment about:

...As American capitalism loses the world struggle of competing economic systems it will become ever more hysterical, it will thrash about more wildly, it will act more and more short-sightedly.

I maintain that "loose" should be changed to "wild", because information from almost any source (except Marty's) clearly indicates an ever increasing American economic triumph in Europe. (Witness socialist England devastating

continued from page 1

safety, or interest—or in general deferment.

Throughout his career as a student, the pressure—the threat of loss of deferment—continues. It continues with equal intensity after graduation. His local board requires periodic reports to find out what he is up to. He is impelled to pursue his skill rather than subvert upon some less important enterprise and is encouraged to apply his skill in an occupational activity in the national interest. The loss of deferred status is the consequence for the individual who neglected the skill and either does not use it or uses it in a non-essential activity.

The psychology of granting status choices under pressure to take action is the American or indirect way of achieving what is done by deception in foreign countries where spies is not permitted.

It should be clear to all of us that the Selective Service System is one of the most powerful instruments in American society for determining the life-choices of young Americans. Deferments, like 2-S, are an essential part of this gigantic system of manpower channeling. The 2-S deferment ensures that millions of young Americans will accept a choice which is within the spectrum defined as the "national interest". They are told, in effect, that they will have the privilege of not being forced to kill or to be killed in the armed services if they will undertake a course of training and occupational activities which have been defined as "essential" in relation to this pre-defined "national interest". We are forced to ask: What is this "national interest" and who defines it?

News Release

that those of us who disagree with the definition of the national interest given by the military-industrial complex, and who choose to engage in political action which is directly opposed to that definition, should be served in a new fashion. Thereby has said, in effect, that those of us who oppose the channeling of manpower for the ends and interests which in represents are going to have our energies channeled back out of university training for industrial-probationary ends and interests, and into military training for representative-destructive ends and interests.

In fact, General Hersey is threatening our right to engage in active political activity which opposes the given definition of the national interest and attempts to redefine that interest. His threat is an outright attempt to suppress political dissent and active political opposition. The threat behind any deferment, student or otherwise, is that of being punished for not fitting into the channel modes of behavior. General Hersey's own threat is that of being punished for explicitly political behavior which opposes the defined modes. It is a direct violation of constitutionally guaranteed political freedoms and is the first major attempt at the political repression of the 1960's. SDS wishes to make it clear that it does not support the existing system of deferments. We have publicly sponsored the 2-S as representing the special privileged status of those whose military or economic background enables them to engage in university training. SDS opposes a system of privilege which permits middle-class white students to pursue their training while eluding prior American, both black and white, to fight and die.

of the political economy of imperialism in the face of wars of national liberation, of which Vietnam is only one front. The struggle of Third World movements abroad and black Americans at home have marked the beginning of the end of U.S. imperial capitalism. This is not to say that the political and economic struggle of the white poor and working people of the United States are irrelevant at this point. Quite the opposite. What we must understand, however, is that the conditions from which the struggle of white Americans has developed have been dictated by the actions of imperialism here and abroad. The cost of the war in Vietnam has destroyed the war on poverty, and the production of anti-war sentiment. As imperial war economy requires huge armies, and so on.

It is not to say, we have made some "concessions" in our analysis of the situation. In analysis, we have yet to make them in strategy. The conclusion we must draw is that the primary task for the radical student movement at this time is to develop a political strategy of anti-imperialism. We must see the Vietnam war and the black rebellions at home as a general crisis for the last period of our work. Many aspects of an anti-imperial strategy are still undeveloped or unclear. In the questions, we support the black liberation movement on right reasons by expanding the white community into radical politics. In the activity we at least contain our strategy against the military. In high schools and poor and working class communities we at least develop anti-imperialist projects. Finally, we must begin a new relationship with the anti-war movement. This is that to be clear? First, we should realize that our past successes have grown out of a general failure of SDS to plan, advance, and coordinate a national program of questions to the war in Vietnam. It is clear that SDSers have taken action outside the Pentagon and elsewhere, the Cultural Day the Draft Week, and a host of resistance activities involving war resisters and conscientious objectors.

1) Political leadership. SDS must take responsibility for making its radical anti-imperialist perspective clear to the nation. We must attempt to demonstrate, to as many Americans as possible, both inside and outside the anti-war movement, that the perspective of the New Left offers the only real hope for the country. The present imperialist crisis has resulted in tremendous economic, social, and political problems for ordinary Americans and people. We must make known to the American public the differences in solutions offered to those problems by liberal analysis and dissent, on the one hand, and a radical analysis and resistance, on the other hand.

2) Propaganda. Related to our other activities has been our failure to develop an effective propaganda apparatus for the dissemination of our ideas. Much of the SDS experience with the establishment press has led to our disillusionment of getting our perspective across through any of the public media. Since "the bourgeois press lies", SDSers have preferred to ignore its existence. The result has been a persistent failure to make clear the politics of our actions which are consistently reported in the press.

3) Communications. Along with the weakness of our public propaganda effort has gone the inadequacy of communication within SDS. It is a fact that we are forced to read the New York Times to learn about the activities of our local chapters. We badly need a radical news service to link our organizers and to furnish energy and coordinate their work with the work of those organizers which share our perspective (New Left Notes, The National Guardian, The Movement, etc.). Liberation News Service, which has made a beginning in this direction, has been inadequate to the present needs of the movement.

4) Coalitions. SDS must develop special, although critical, war toward relations to other groups or coalitions within the anti-war movement. To continue our previous practice of separating ourselves from other anti-war forces, without al-

lowing us to see the necessity of meeting these new demands placed on SDS, we propose that the National Council adopt the following program for the spring of 1968. SDS will initiate a call for a ten-day program of actions in resistance to the war in Vietnam occurring on the period of April 18-29. The action will be announced under the title "Ten Days to Shatter the Empire" and/or "The International Week of Resistance". A variety of targets for direct action on and off the campus, as well as the tactics for dealing with them will be chosen, not only for their moral symbolism, but mainly for their effectiveness in developing a more sophisticated political consciousness regarding the operations of American imperialism at home and abroad. Where possible and appropriate, financial and corporate industrial targets should be attacked, rather than a single aspect of imperialist repressiveness such as the Selective Service System. This is essential if we are to develop a focus on the economic aspects of corporate capitalist imperialism. The cooperation of NAACP and other radical research groups should be solicited to help pinpoint those targets. The international aspects of the program should be developed 1) through coordinated speaking tours by those who will have traveled to North Vietnam and Cuba, and 2) through encouraging anti-imperialist youth groups abroad (e.g., German SDS, French UNEF, Japanese Zeugma, etc.) to plan direct action in their own countries to coincide with ours.

The National Office will assume responsibility for the coordination of the program and the development of an effective propaganda campaign stressing the anti-imperialist perspective of the program and the necessity for building a radical grass-roots resistance in America. Finally, National SDS will attempt to persuade other organizations, such as the National Mobilization Committee, to adopt, endorse, or participate in all or certain parts of SDS programs. In dealing with other groups, we must keep in mind the importance of 1) the political sub-

IMPLEMENTATION

In order to make the actions of April 18-29 as effective as possible and to strengthen our communications and propaganda apparatus on a long-term basis, the National Office, under the supervision of the National Secretariat Committee, and within whatever guidelines are established by the National Council, should proceed to:

1) establish a Radical Press Service which would provide for the coordination and exchange of information sources and articles between New Left Notes, The Movement, The National Guardian, Liberation News Service, and other publications within or sympathetic to the movement.

2) publish a new monthly designed to propagandize our program and analysis to the largest possible audience.

3) send travelers out to coordinate information and encourage participation in the program.

continued on page 4

NEW LEFT NOTES
SPECIAL ISSUE

February 1

A History of the New Deal Line

by Jack Maguire

RECENTLY, Robert Oppenheimer

by Carl Ogden

A Radical Speech in Defense of BRUCE

by Douglas Lipst

VERTICAL: This is Oppenheimer

by Carl Ogden

and a list of other people quoted
in the book "The New Deal Line"

THE NEW DEAL LINE
THE NEW DEAL LINE
THE NEW DEAL LINE

National Secretary's Report
On Organizational Responsibility
and Political Maturity

March 1961

By the time this report is published, the National Secretary will have been in office for a year. It is a year of many changes, both in the organization and in the world. The National Secretary has been in office for a year, and the world has been in a state of flux. The National Secretary has been in office for a year, and the world has been in a state of flux. The National Secretary has been in office for a year, and the world has been in a state of flux.

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10 Days to Shake the Empire

Continued from page 1

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The next morning we went out early
 and we went to the beach. The
 water was very clear and the
 sand was very soft. We went
 for a walk on the beach and
 saw many beautiful shells. The
 children were very happy and
 played for hours. We went
 back to the hotel and had a
 picnic. The food was very good
 and we enjoyed it very much.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

Free Speech and Left Authoritarianism

Pat Finkbeiner

I read with much admiration Carl Davidson's remarks in the National Guardian anniversary dinner concerning the bourgeoisie of the bourgeois trick calling for free speech for CIA, Dow, etc., recollections on campus. Davidson advocates for us not to be duped by the administration's call for free speech for these groups. It is, as he points out, a game that the bourgeoisie plays with us. But by merely getting the label of "bourgeoisie" on it (large free speech is a game of the devil), this does nothing to "democratize" anything. In fact what it does do, is establish a legitimacy among us radicals to the so-called "vanguard" intelligibility. Not being a believer in this intelligibility, whether Davidson's or anyone else's, I wish to examine this issue in perhaps doubtless brother Carl's intentions.

If we take his remarks to their obvious logical conclusion we end up with some rather perplexing (obscuring) contradictions. If we do not let CIA, Dow, etc., have free speech because they are anti-democratic (which they are without doubt) then we come to the dilemma of choosing who is a democrat and who isn't. One step further we then fall in the bourgeois role in which it tells down to—not who is anti-democratic or democratic—but rather who is on our side and who is against us. The former can have free speech, the latter can't. Voltaire's no longer free speech is any sense of the meaning of freedom!

Second, who is to choose who is the democrat and who is the anti-democrat? In the two cases mentioned it is easy to choose—both are anti-democrats. But the choice may not be so simple in future encounters. In fact, by following this line of thought, it seems that

reform is only a temporary palliative to the existing relationships. If we replace Right authoritarianism with Left authoritarianism we have made a great sphere movement, not a revolution—the structural and cultural relationships remain the same with a few changes in the legal fiction.

Revolution, as opposed to reform, does not mean how it was accomplished but how much and to what degree was accomplished. This Revolutionary Reform!

I have been increasingly dismayed at the authoritarian tendencies and the authoritarian rhetoric that has been creeping into our movement especially from SDS. It is understandable. The constant frustrations that fulltime movement people are confronted with sometimes are overwhelming. After harrowing ourselves out in full dedication to our revolution we see little concrete results, little that we can call successes, and thus little fuel to keep our faith burning. In moments of despair we let dogs creep in thinking it with pseudo-divine authority to justify ourselves and our actions. It gives us an air of moral predestination or divine mission. If this happens to the movement—if we need a "history will absolve us" clause—then we like the Bourbons have learned nothing. We are doomed to make the same mistakes and create the same monsters as the so-called revolutions of the past. We are no longer the New Left but back in the Old Left bag.

The revolution we fight for in America is unlike in means and goals any revolution in history. The only guideline we have is not to make the same mistakes. The origins of our movement were in rebellion

I DON'T THINK he meant it this way, but this is how it came out. Sergeant Shriver on Mayor Griffin's show: "The War on Poverty is doing a great job. We had hundreds of boys who couldn't even qualify for the army—now with the help of the anti-poverty program we have been able to send 600 of these boys to Vietnam and six have been killed already."

Herb Cam, SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

Organizational Responsibility

able to devote itself to the overwhelming primary task at hand—serving the membership by fulfilling its bureaucratic needs and maintaining contact with the membership in order to reflect its needs and direction at the national level.

The problem of functioning has its own internal political logic also. It is foolish to think that the sources of income can help but reflect themselves politically. Not that there are any strings attached to money which we solicit and/or receive, but subtle mechanisms must come into play which make those receiving the income conscious of how the movement survives financially. Anything but reliance upon that movement itself is politically unhealthy. About a month ago, Leaf Johnson from New York and I carried on the following correspondence:

Dear SDS,

I noticed in a recent MAC Minutes that Mike Spiegel had collected \$12,000 during a recent fundraising drive, but there was no indication as to where this money was collected. Was it collected from the membership or, as I suspect, from rather well-to-do friends? Was the money a charitable handout from the middle class which likes our liberation

this year will run somewhere around \$100,000. The problem is apparent. SDS's and Conventions will continue to maintain the R.O. to carry out certain activities, without giving much thought to the need to finance these projects. We are attempting to expand our printing operation with the thought in mind that it will be self-supporting from doing outside jobs, while perhaps providing a small profit for us. This then presents the problem of the R.O. being partially self-sufficient financially without actually being beholden to the membership.

For more membership participation, Mike Spiegel

Dear Mike,

Thanks for your answer to my complaints about SDS finances. It is something that has bothered me for two seasons. First in the election one of what would happen if the "easy money" were gone. We've seen how the finances of SNCC were destroyed when they became more radical. What would happen to SDS with its growing membership and activities if the government were to begin a drive to suppress us

[illegible]

NATIONAL

SECURITY AGENCY'S REPORT

[illegible][illegible]

to the end analysis, we must recognize that even "overriding" students will be a small and select radical fringe of the movement and not the constituency. I do not refer to students in the professions. I mean one of the ordinary people that they have been with a lot of good about America on TV, but the things that upset them in the country are not the result of Negroes getting too much money or because of Communist infiltration but because the average students of our country realize every man is a tyrant. A version of this approach is the PL "worker-student alliance." The very word suggests to that every student group and organization should be connected to ordinary people in their own communities, not just the history class. I am attempting to encourage people to not claim to show as dramatic a commitment to a radical bond or Negroes to just, but to the long run TRM is about

A recent issue of NAC had a very interesting article which attempted to encourage the students to become relevant to the city—community. We need to learn to look upon the campus as a neighborhood area and why fight to keep our groups. You cannot do this if you demand students show up all year then and present the local community to learn too. For example, in Madison the two ordinary men on strike for dirty days

ATTENTION STUDENTS

As the National Convention was proposed it was decided on whether or not to call a made at the December NC for getting the strike to the home to declare that they chapters should begin discussion of a strike on their campus so that we can make a vote we stand on this issue.

LOCAL BOARD

RECLASSIFYING

'CATHOLIC PRIESTLiberation News **31**[illegible]

Although in the 1920s "white girls,"
Cramer wrote in my book, he intended
to do it called her *negress*.

"The next time in 1928," she
inferred said, "I was not
to go to jail if they put me in jail,
but would be punished for that they
just asked, 'Should I let
them stay?' and they were,"

continued on page 3

ATTENTION STUDENT STRIKERS

At the National Convention where the Student Strike was proposed it was decided that the final decision on whether or not to call for the strike would be made at the December NC. One of the prerequisites for calling the strike is that at least ten chapters have to declare that they will try to "pull it off." The chapters should begin discussing the possibilities of a strike on their campuses. Then come to the NC so that we can make a realistic estimate of where we stand on this issue.

Institutional Resistance Response to Davidson

Mike Meeropol
Madison, Wisconsin

Jeff Gordon's thoughtful article on the Brooklyn situation is a sharp contrast to the rambling self-contradictory article by Carl Davidson in the same issue. Where Carl is all in favor of institutional resistance and glowing catalogues all our impressive tactics, Jeff is explicit in stating that "we could have gotten 100-150 people to sit in. But our goal was to win over thousands of other students to our position." (ENL, Nov. 13)

The conflict between two different approaches is even apparent with Carl's article. He says, "As radicals, we unequivocally celebrate the recent events at the Universities of Wisconsin and Illinois, and at Brooklyn and Oberlin Colleges."

Later he warns "...a resistance must grow, both in numbers and in depth of commitment...and most important in this area is political education for both ourselves and our potential constituency." At one and the same time he cautions us both to keep from being isolated and

to remember that since our potential constituency is small we shouldn't try to please everyone.

This conflict is basic to the problem that is trapping the white left. We know we do not yet have the numbers on our side to win. The question is, do we emphasize contacting people or do we emphasize getting our bodies on the line as an irritant to slow down the machines. Jeff Gordon is unequivocal and I want to second him. If we chase the recruiters away they will come back. If we build a movement encompassing half of the student body of a given school, we can apply an overwhelming ratio of forces in a true guerrilla strategy to really keep them off the campus. A perfect example is presented by the contrast between the situation here at Wisconsin and the one described by Jeff Gordon at Brooklyn.

At Brooklyn understanding has increased, the number of potential resistors is higher as a result of what has happened. At

Wisconsin, the hard core that got their heads blooded on October 18th, remains just what it was. The many liberal students and faculty members who stood against police brutality are still not convinced that Dow or the CIA should be thrown off the campus. They don't believe the university is part of the corporate hierarchy that rules America. They don't even believe that a corporate hierarchy DOES rule America. In fact, they believe that because of what the "radicals" did, the liberal administration is valiantly trying to save itself from the moguls in the State Legislature. Symbolistic students actually feel sorry for the Chancellor of the Madison campus—the very man who ordered the cops in. I'm not happy to report this but here in Madison, the left is as isolated and frustrated as ever. Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect of this situation is that the students have NO positive influence on the campus. This would not be so terrible if the students were continually recruiting more radicals on the campus. However, in the year I have been here, I haven't seen any substantial change in the percentages of radicals on campus.

It may be different elsewhere. Through the current actions of Brooklyn SDS, consciousness has been heightened. Other universities also might possess the right confusions of forces. The report from Oakland seems to indicate that this is the case in the bay area. In the light of the various stages of development that exist in different parts of the country, I urge a rejection of the "unpopular celebration" proffered by Carl

The left did absolutely nothing to help —did not even issue a statement in support. One left-leaning publisher published a proposal for a city-run bus company controlled by bus drivers and officers threatened by a propaganda war on the profits of those who benefit from the bus services. Interested you say? Thus, let all actions up to the final revolutionary overthrow are irrelevant in the sense that the power structure can offer no resistance as a way to make their situation more secure in the face of revolution. Thus, institutional resistance was through long hard struggle, but its victory did not weaken the power structure. By accepting the overly broad union, the additional their hold on their positions. Our job is to give each relevant push a radical understanding, not to ignore resistance altogether.

The point of this example was to show that all the radical suggestions made in the name of SDS which showed the spirit ways that a campus as a total-liberalized area might function will result in nothing more than words on paper if our primary concern becomes "institutional resistance." The Madison radicals concentrated on the Dove Chemical Company and ignored the bus strike. They are now preparing for the CIA intervention. At the same time, members of the community are trying to use a referendum campaign as the beginning of some meaningful community organization. The students are obviously just as SDS has prophesied had attention to large demonstrations. You can't do both. SDS people must not seriously reflect the resistance versus organizing problem.

As Jeff Gordon and the Brooklyn events have shown, it is not necessarily an either-or choice, but as Madison, Wisconsin has shown, it can become that, and the wrong choice of action can mean.

Beginning of the Struggle

Vernon Urban
REC Director

Left—liberal, revolution—nonviolence, overthrow—work within, guerrilla warfare—peace. Where are we?

Protest—black revolutionaries, liberals—student radicals, pacifists—guerrillas, hippies—politicos. Who are we? Many thoughts and almost no ideology. What is

Three years ago the theme was that the "civil rights and the peace movement must be separated. Their goals are different." All is changed. The goals are the same for the enemy is the same. Two years ago the tactic was to "educate" everyone. Teach-us, write your

Historical Truths and Historical Aberrations

The following are the

The development of history (and therefore of knowledge) often depicts that in the midst of important struggles trade unions have been established, sometimes even before the war with England. Such is the case with Diego's "Revolution in the Barrios." The "Revolution in the Barrios" is a semi-official statement of the views of the United States government of Cuba. It is a governmentally important document.

A struggle, of historic significance, for control of the Left in Latin America is occurring between those who would emphasize primarily legal, city-based action, and those who emphasize illegal, armed guerrilla warfare. In "Revolution in the Barrios," Diego more accurately than anyone that armed struggle must be the primary form of struggle in Latin America today, and even the Left speaks to this viewpoint. However, "Revolution in the Barrios" is a series of arguments for why the guerrilla movement must be controlled by the guerrillas themselves, rather than by a city-based political party (L.A. by the Latin American Communist Party).

The most important section of the writer will be devoted to a critical examination of one aspect of Diego's work which he clearly fails to recognize but which I think is so fundamental that it warrants close scrutiny: namely, the overall (or historical) function of a political party in the Latin American revolutionary movement, and by extension in any revolutionary movement. The writer's remarks are at the OUTLET THEATRE, ALEXANDER WITH DIEGO'S MAN POWER, as I summarize them above. The second form of struggle in Latin America today, and throughout the revolutionary international world, is the de-

velopment, among them massed in the countryside, of popular revolutionary (and ultimately socialist) movements—and clearly this will involve violent struggle by guerrilla forces. A popular revolution must be conducted where a majority of the population is to be found, without a close relationship with the masses, but on long experience and contact and on common struggle, any future revolutionary government will have to resort to coercive and manipulative measures once state power is taken. Such measures would be the death of the revolution.

As to Diego's second main problem for many reasons—social (participatory democracy), political (also also under-stands the struggle so well), and tactical (Ours also avoid practically fatal errors?)—it is clear that any struggle must be conducted by those who are doing the struggling. If the reader doubts this, I can only suggest that he or she read Diego (at least for reference to guerrilla struggles "Revolution in the Barrios") is devoted to excellent reasons behind this principle) and reflect on the meaning of participatory democracy.

Diego says some very important and helpful things about the development of the relationship between guerrillas and peasant masses. His words, first of all, are a pleasant surprise to what can only be called revolutionary romantic views about how the struggling guerrillas are immediately taken to hand by the solid revolutionary peasantry. Further, Diego tells us of how, frequently, guerrilla bands in various Latin American countries have been betrayed by peasants they thought they could trust (including one instance where the functions of a well-trusted peasant guide were discovered

directly from the snare setting itself). In hour earlier, a brief drop (at the top of buildings) had warned "Villagers of the hamlet of Iruya" that they should assemble at the Cemetery Plaza at once to be moved to resettlement camps on the coast, since regrettably the camp had to be bombed by B-52s in the interests of preserving freedom, democracy, liberty, etc., "as we explained to you [the peasants] in our last brief drop."

The battle between pseudo-Marxists and NLP forces was short and sharp, utilizing water and water-and-batching balloons, bay and cardboard guns and sound effects types of combat noises. The NLP repulsed the Marxists, but air support in the form of a napalm rifle (more balloons from a couple of student "airplanes") finished off the villagers. The last-to-the hill all-attack across the Marxists' barracks table, as a "peace" version of the Star Spangled Banner brought all the actors to their feet to end the act.

Just shortly before he would have killed Philo. In addition, Diego, even more valuably, advises us that—for reasons of the peasants' as well as the guerrilla's safety—while territory is controlled by the forces of oppression, the guerrilla band should be extremely discreet in its relations with peasants in a village. Contacts with individual peasants should be made clandestinely, outside the village; mass meetings in villages should appear "innocent" so that when the government forces come around the peasants can all claim that they were merely late attending the meeting; on entering villages guerrillas should stay at all houses so that no one peasant appears to be getting special attention; in short, peasants are, by-and-by, "eternal victims" of the guerrillas, and the guerrillas must be aware of this. (See also William Hilder's Paganism for a similar indication of the Chinese CP's secrecy in a village in an area not yet securely liberated from the Kuomintang forces.)

But elsewhere, Diego, like the rest of us, refers to the guerrilla-peasant relationship as very close. The problem

was a couple of SDS girls grabbed the pretense to try to investigate that kind of spontaneous protest by students against on-campus arrest of demonstrators until it seems to be happening all over.

Not so in the midst of conservative Orange County, however. But with the attention of the cops directed by the passive, but smothering crowd, Peasants broke and ran only to be knocked down a few paces away by the same Jack who had earlier celebrated Ours. Another problem, abiding argument between SDS and the basketball stars and everybody's friends began, but without positive effect. The police handcuffed Peasants and hauled him off to Orange County Jail.

The top rank of the UCI administration claims to be spent by the barracks. Chancellor Don Aldrich was out-of-town that Wednesday, and after his speedy return, told student government officials he had berated the vice-chancellors responsible for deciding to proceed with an arrest, and was attempting to placate the local DA's. So far without tangible success, however.

For students, the total effect of the incident was an increased reversion of the issues of war-machine reversioning and use of the universities. A national student newspaper, a syndicate (to SDS student government association, and much person-to-person conversation with other students by guerrilla theater actors are hanging the subject too, and of course Peasants' trial will provide an ideal background against which to push both discussion and demands. An added bonus for the campus SDS chapter was a new enthusiasm for the guerrilla theater tactic, with everybody looking forward to the DOJ reciters scheduled for January.

It is not that this doesn't occur (of course it does in Cuba, Cuba) but that Diego does not tell us in any specific terms at all how this transition takes place. Partly the relationship of solidarity is a result of success—but even more importantly it is a cause of success. And while each of us can envision in general terms the developing guerrilla-

continued on page 7

a letter to the women's liberation groups

I have just read your article in NLN, and would like to contribute the following to your discussion:

1. I am generally in agreement with the principle enunciated in your point #1, but I think you have to be aware of the danger of putting women in leadership positions who are sufficiently underdeveloped, precisely because of women's historical lower caste position, that the experience will lead to an erosion, rather than a development, of their self-confidence. I can see a situation where a woman, when put in such a position and finding herself not in that a leader, would see it as a confirmation of what she has been taught all her life—that she is inferior, inferiority.

2. This is connected with the above and is, I think, the fundamental theoretical problem which women's liberation groups must face. Namely that, within any other oppressed people in history, e.g. colonial peoples or blacks in the U.S., it is not possible for women to separate themselves fully from their oppressors, or at least workers as fully as other oppressed people have been able to. Obviously, in the nature of social relationships and emotional needs, of women and men both, there must be a constant interaction between the oppressed and oppressor. The dilemma that this brings up, it seems to me, is that women must seek their liberation in the very midst of oppression, and that women must be more "understanding" and "accepting" in the situation than men. That is, as women struggle for liberation, and tensions exist, women cannot expect men to protect her.

3. Needless to say, all men whether we like it or not, bear the burden and the stigma of being oppressors. What this implies to me is that when you're thinking programatically you should think primarily of programs which improve women's development of their capabilities, and only secondarily of programs which point out to men the many manifestations of the sexual caste system. This is of course totally unreasonable—but then caste systems aren't particularly reasonable.

As I re-read the above paragraph, I had the somewhat chilling thought that oppressed peoples unable to separate themselves from their oppressors are usually assimilated.

4. The above notwithstanding, I think it is important to be as specific as possible about the particular manifestations of the sexual caste system, in men's attitudes and actions. Aside from writing about such things yourselves, it might be a good idea to get some guy to write something like "Confessions of a Male Chauvinist"; it would be somewhat less threatening, I would think, to other guys.

ED. NOTE: The address of the women's group in Chicago which authored the original article is: Women's Liberation Group, 1000 North Dearborn, Chicago, Ill.



Nov. 19 at UC Irvine: SDS "Marines" launch attack on "Vietnamese" village.

GUERRILLA THEATER - USED AGAINST MARINE RECRUITERS

Tom Wayman UC Irvine

One student was arrested following an SDS guerrilla theater confrontation with Marine recruiters on the University of California, Irvine campus Nov. 15.

Ron Pezunas of Anaheim will appear in court Nov. 30 on charges of assault and battery and resisting arrest. He allegedly heaved a water balloon that struck one of the staunch defenders of the American Way in the chest and got government property (one Marine uniform) all wet.

The scenario of the guerrilla theater skit at the southern California campus of 2,300 was simple enough: about 15 SDS members and friends dressed in cast-off USMC fatigues and attached about six "Viet Cong" (more SDSers) in their marked-off "village" directly in front of the Marine recruiting table.

A review of the...

But not the action. As the SDSers moved off toward the sidewalk, a water balloon came sailing out of the blue and struck one of the trio of Marines. Instantly, a group of about five campus basketball and/or water polo players tore through the crowd after Pezunas, and a short shoving match ensued. The joke had already distinguished themselves by harrying one of their members' heads down. Ken Corwin, an SDSUC member and SDS member who had been hearing balloons near them during the skit, an upright Dean of Students managed to split the post-fight bawls between Pezunas, other SDSers and the joke. But five minutes later, when a number of SDS people (including Pezunas) had left the by-considerably-disturbed crowd in the Plaza and were in an upstairs room in the Commons dormitory. In without

present relationship and its importance, a more exact understanding of the political development of the relationship under other direct experience (and likely to be provided by circumstances) or (more substantially) as a result of other experience in the respect which has the day-to-day quality of freedom.

A good understanding of Deberg's book— and, especially, articulated toward the beginning and then crystallized at various points— is his assertion that the modern world, despite its own separation, is seen to be a single entity. It is especially apparent in the opening of his experience as a political party for Latin America that he argues. On the other hand, despite his own separation, he seems to be saying that the political revolutionary experience in Cuba is prototypical for the rest of Latin America, and, to some important ways, and particularly with respect to the proper role of the political party. On balance, I should note that Deberg argues both from the Cuban experience and from the objective conditions of present-day Latin America, but those specific conditions are not sufficiently obvious to warrant the violation of his own hypothesis.

That Deberg says to say he adds (6) an almost not unambiguously easy other's experience, (6) can be tentatively apply general results and, more important, (6) apply other's experience and insights selectively, drawing the specific results to suit one's own situation and using the support which would be helpful to one, while recognizing (6) that some general principles are universal for a socialist revolution.

One unfortunate result of the action of having no preconceived notions whatever (One may well consider it a stroke of good luck that Fidel had not read the military writings of Mao Tse-tung before departing for the coast of October's Deberg—but N.A. that all of Mao's "military" writings are fundamentally political writings) is what I call the celebration of tactics (see p. 49 of the paperback edition especially). It is more a case to which I object than a particular point. Again, Deberg's problem is that he is polemical (against the many evils seen the development of the Latin American revolution by official ideologues) he has thrown the baby (or perhaps better yet, the bathtub) out with the bathwater.

Because Deberg is so caught up with a particular historical circumstance, in which the political parties of the Latin American Left have been especially revolutionary, he underestimates a particular political goal, with potentially serious consequences. Specifically, he (implicitly and superficially) applies to political parties in general the justified criticisms of a particular group of political parties. What this results in, in "Revolution in the Revolution?" is a denunciation of entire functions of political parties (i.e., political strategy and political education), except for the correct point that Latin American revolutionary must not be tied down by legal forms of struggle.

In seeking to liberate the Latin American Left from the military influence of respective CPs, Deberg has introduced political tactics to military tactics. Or, rather, he has so overemphasized that he has failed to discuss generally political tactics at all, except in the most general terms in a very limited paragraph of the book. The celebration of tactics mentioned above is one aspect of this the quote about Fidel's not reading Mao is incredible in itself, and even more so

when you notice that it is followed immediately by a statement that Fidel at all discovered, when they did read Mao, that they had essentially developed a model operational very much like Mao's. There is a difference between the necessity to learn through one's own experience and the making of one's own mistakes, and justifying all previous experience.

Deberg says, in one of his most important statements, "The people's army will be the nucleus of the party, not vice versa." On one level he is correct: the struggle cannot, and should not, be directed by those not involved in it. But he is wrong more fundamentally, by failing even to discuss the central role of the party: that of political direction and political education. This failure is an important drawback to Deberg's book, especially since he writes consistently about political parties and their transformations, and how the party's functions must be taken over by the guerrilla. But what are these functions? Can they be performed by just anyone? Again, there is a celebration of tactics: the most frequently mentioned aspect of a party's function is the tactical direction of the struggle. But he fails to say that this is only a part of the whole function, and a relatively unimportant part at that.

Whether then Deberg's quote on party-guerrilla relations, I would say: "The experience gained through activity in the people's army will provide the basis from which some members of the army will form the nucleus of the party, which has the function of giving basic direction to the struggle." This is a much more precise formulation of the relationship between revolutionary action and revolutionary political work and clearly recognizes that politically-determined strategy directs day-to-day activity and puts it in perspective. It is one thing to say that experience, action, struggle are the elements for the development of political

consciousness—this is absolutely true. It is quite another to say that these are the only, or even always the primary, forms of political education.

At issue here is the question of how consciousness develops among the masses. I have heard Deberg accused of attempting to liberate that revolutionary change will come about solely or primarily through the efforts of the guerrilla band and not through the development of a mass movement—but I find this criticism almost directed. It is more likely that Deberg believes that consciousness develops spontaneously, and that therefore actively political party is unnecessary. In doing so, he is actually referring to the Cuban experience over again—and he is specific about this—the Chinese and Vietnamese experiences, both of which he has included a strong note for the C.P. But it is no criticism of Fidel Castro to point out that where he and his comrades were engaged in revolutionary struggle for years, the Chinese and Vietnamese were (and are) engaged in struggle for decades. Literally decades, before taking state power. Furthermore, have the Cuban experience is not prototypical for Latin America: more again with the U.S. allow a Cuban-type revolution to "just happen," as it did in the Cuban case; this has been demonstrated simply.

It is precisely the fact that we do not have Deberg's view of consciousness development that is important, for he fails to mention it. An active book on how to make revolution, and necessarily a word on the development of political consciousness!

But maybe (and this has been suggested also) Deberg is not writing the primer on the total revolutionary process, but has intended to concentrate (as he does almost totally) on the very difficult task of mass survival during the initial stages of establishing a revolutionary base (for whatever kind, maybe so, but if this is

War-Bound GI's Riot at Fort Hood

Alvin Young
LIBERATION News Service

Hundreds of soldiers went on an anti-officer-loyalty rampage at Fort Hood, Texas last month, on the eve of their being shipped to Vietnam.

Thousands of soldiers in property were damaged and an undisciplined number of troops ended up in the stockade. A second bloodbath, part of a contingent of military police who attempted to bring the riot "under control", was severely beaten by the troops. There was an uncorroborated report that he later died.

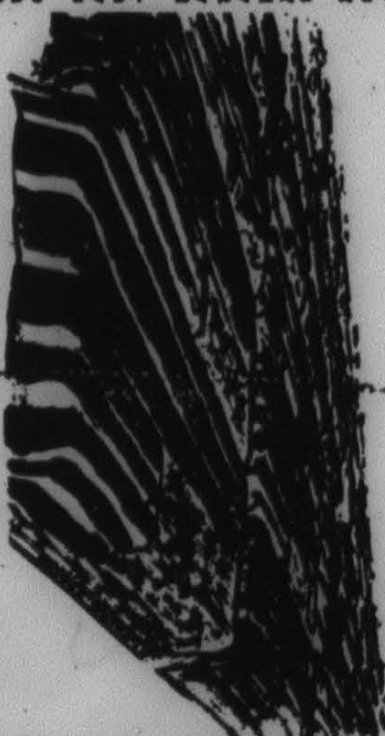
None of the rebellion was first reported by The Day of Justice and Houston Times in its November 8 issue in a story written by Pvt. Sandy Fryman, who is stationed at Fort Hood.

Big soldiers said they confirmed the second facts in Pvt. Fryman's story in conversation with several other GIs. It was clear, they said, that superstitious political considerations were not the primary motivation of the soldiers.

It was equally clear, however, that a widespread feeling of desperation regarding the war was involved. Certainly, the Fort Hood riot is part of a growing dissatisfaction among U.S. soldiers not to kill or be killed in Vietnam.

Political spokesmen, questioned about the incident, at first denied everything. Later, a Colonel Ashmun admitted there was a "war fever" on the night of October 3. Then, a Colonel Connor said he had read a report in the "probable press", and passed the buck to Col. Robert Barrett.

Barrett said it "was blown itself up." He added the highest official when there were some 500 men at a party. The soldiers became "bored", he said, and they were a "patriotic." This same talk was told to the Austin American, an establishment daily which compares with The Day. But Barrett admitted to Lt. Col.



Pvt. Floyd G.T. don't want to come home in these houses.

that the MP's had to be called out and that a second bloodbath had been "slightly injured."

The text of Private Fryman's article is as follows:

"On the night of October 3rd many of the men of the 198th Light Infantry Brigade decided that they would rather go to the stockade than leave for Vietnam on the following day.

"By early evening a feeling of tension was building up. The men of the 198th, though officially confined to their company areas, were wandering around the base looking for trouble. Later that night rioting broke out. An estimated \$150,000 worth of damage was done to personal and government property. Two delivery trucks belonging to an on-post private business were heavily damaged. A new privately-owned car was destroyed by the rioters. The windows of the

Excluded Men's Club as well as scattered windows and glass doors were broken. Two buses loaded with men returning to the base from Kham were stopped and their windshields smashed. One bus driver entered the hospital with glass embedded in his eyes.

"At approximately the same time as one group of men were conducting a party on the WAC barracks another group was heading a Second Lieutenant to death. "One well known runner is that several shooting games took place but the 'winners' don't verify the fact that the rioting itself took place, much less give specific information about it.

"The number of men that were arrested by the Military Police has not been disclosed and no one seems to know any of the names of the men arrested, therefore making it impossible to interview any of the men in the stockade to

get a clearer look at what happened. "During the weeks before Oct. 4th I've talked to many of the men in the 198th and not one of them felt they had adequate time and training to go into combat. Most of them felt that this was due to the incompetency of the leaders. They knew that going to Vietnam meant almost certain death for many of them, and as the rioting spread, the men don't want to do so readily.

"Even by the 'rule' of the system the 198th is not prepared to go into combat, but on Oct. 4th, the men who weren't in the stockade left for Vietnam, and, for many, death. This proves that the system doesn't care how many of its own soldiers are hopelessly slaughtered just as long as it has a ready supply of bodies to be thrown on the burning fires of imperialism.

"The men of the 198th Light Infantry Brigade know that they are going to die needlessly, but for them it is too late. Already their advance party has been attacked and many of its men killed or wounded.

"The information contained in this article was gathered from men that had seen the rioting or had actively participated in it. Exact facts and figures are in the hands of the Fort Hood authorities but will not be released to private individuals like myself.

"Conceivably such as this is rampant in the Army, and until this is stopped, this is the most accurate account of the rioting that I can give.

"If only every GI could realize that he is not fighting for his country—that he is fighting and, perhaps giving his life so that the war industrialists can make money and the politicians can make 'political hay.' If he could only realize that the parties of this country are fighting against the war rather than for it."

... is the movement? It is people working together. Together we change the social and economic structure of our society.

How do we build movement? We begin by talking to people, sharing and explaining to people how they are not free, why they are not free. We organize people into the movement. They then organize more people.

If this movement is to succeed it must become a national movement. The local organization is not going to organize a local revolution, much less a national revolution. The fragments of the movement cannot function in a complete vacuum. In order to develop a national movement people have to communicate with each other. We must convey programs, strategy, and tactics to each other. We have to talk to each other.

Each local organization, or local part of a national organization must have access to a communications system from which they can find out about what kinds of issues other people in the country are organizing around, what kinds of methods they are using to organize, and what kinds of successes and failures they have had. We cannot afford to keep making the same old mistakes. If we are to keep moving and organizing a mass movement.

We must get our acts together and communicate. One of the best and at the same time fastest ways to do that is to write about your organizing experiences. Write for your own organization's newspaper. Write for your own organization's newsletter. Write for the movement press. Write for the Left Media. Send copies to the Liberation News Service, to be distributed to other movement press sources. Send what you have written, what your brothers and sisters have written. Get informed about what is happening throughout the country. But nobody is going to know how your area is changing, prevailing, and/or organizing unless you write about it. Analyze your local situation. How like other areas is your area, your city, your university? Let's pull our information about the country together and see where we stand. Maybe then we can deal with a real program which can be effective.

... is precisely this—our failure to encourage the masses' active involvement. The dead weight of the entire history of the human race in this respect—a history characterized by slavery's tyranny of necessity and man's tyranny of class—lies heavily on us: we don't really believe in ourselves, in the possibility of democracy and participation. This is as true of us as the "advanced" countries as of the

NAC Minutes

November 28, 1967

Members Present: Tim McCarthy, John Bosman, Carl Davidson, Karen Gellman, Carol Newman.

Members Absent: Earl Silver, JOHN, University of Chicago, Mike Spiegel, Bob Perdue.

Others Present: Bob Shomer, Bruce Paul.

AGENDA:

1. LADO Typewriting

1. Migration Ads

2. Financial Report

1. LADO-Latin American Defense Organization, a Latin American Community organization on the West Side is going to start putting out a bi-weekly, bi-lingual newsletter. They want to have it printed here and they requested that their typewriter be allowed to use our equipment. Since our typewriter has no experience setting Spanish, and since there's a lot of experience on P-100 equipment, the NAC agreed to this request—setting also on P-100 for use of the equipment.

2. Carl Davidson presented the re-worked ad, and it was accepted by the NAC and sent to New Republic. So all the members can share someone's copy, read our criticism, and send money.

NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
1601 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill. 60612
RETURN REQUESTED

Bob Stirk
P.O. Box 6192
Chicago Ill. 60660 I-10/60

2. Financial Report:

N.O. HEADS Two, Nov. 21 to Nov. 27

INCOME:		EXPENSES:	
Dues and Subscriptions	\$ 604.80	Party Cash	\$ 11.10
Literature	186.30	Travel	24.80
Contributions	224.51	Subsistence	207.40
Postage	11.80	Office and EEO Supplies	24.64
Sales	61.30	Printing Supplies	91.81
Miscellaneous	604.30	Equipment	62.40
Exchanges	61.80	Exchanges	61.40
NLU Ads	61.80	Cars	6.40
Printing	273.80	Typewriting	22.40
Loans	61.80	Postage	61.40
Chapman Tax	61.80	Dates	61.40
Journal A	61.80	Miscellaneous	61.40
Total	\$181.30	Total	\$ 704.15

Dear McCarthy \$1128.24
Balance: \$3871.45

December 4, 1967 New Left Notes

Staff of growing radical news service desperately needs a car to navigate the suburban streets and skirt the moral pollution of Washington, D.C. Spending whatever money we have on building a militant public consciousness; but we will drive the auto from anywhere to here. Contact Ray Mingo or Elliot Blader at Laborious News Service, 3 Thomas Circle N.W., Washington D.C., or call 202-324-4827.

LOCAL BOARD RECLASSIFIES CATHOLIC PRIEST

continued from page 5

Reverend Connor said he "would consider" taking sanctuary in the Church, although he does not plan to do so at this time. The Reverend, who holds that his action was taken more "as a citizen than a representative of the Catholic Church," has received no word from his Bishop, Philip J. Shams of Rochester, N. Y., who has recently taken a vanguard position among Catholics against the war. Reverend Connor added that he believes that all members of the Resistance, students, faculty, and clergy, "should be treated equally."

Connor said that there were other members of the clergy in the area who also returned their cards to the Selective Service System in support of the resisting students. He said he was the only one who has as yet been reclassified, explaining that "others have draft boards that are bigger or farther away than my own."

Book Review

Revolution in the Revolution

continued from page 7
the case he should make that very clear. Indeed he (and the Chinese too) allows the reader to draw the conclusion that here is something very close to the gospel on Latin American revolution. One can only conclude that he thinks that as long as the guerrillas survive everything will be all right.

"Revolution in the Revolution?" is in fact a very narrow book, for it concentrates on a very limited period of time in the revolutionary process. This does not make it bad or worthless—quite the contrary. But it is a vast mistake—indeed a historical aberration—to apply universally the truths and lessons of that limited period.

There are two other aspects of the role of a political party—i.e., of the people whose task is the determination of strategic direction and the advancement of political consciousness. One aspect can best be examined in the light of the Cultural Revolution in China, a process of fundamental significance for any revolutionary; the other I would like to discuss in relation to the radical movement in the U.S.

The writings—and especially the actions—of the Chinese indicate clearly the strength of their emphasis on the Party as the agent whose task is to set up and crystallize the experiences of Chinese people, obviously an important and active task. As I said above, if the Party fails to remain in the closest possible contact with the masses, a very serious situation can develop: the rulers of a country will develop coercive and manipulative techniques of governing, more important, because more institutions,

inhabitants of impoverished poor countries. Perhaps it is more true of the combination of greater potential (as a result of material advancement) and continued powerlessness may in the end be fatal. What this means is that a political party leading and crystallizing and directing a revolution—as in Cuba, or China—has a very definite, extremely important political task to fight against mass's inferiority and consequent psychology, and to make the strongest possible effort to involve the masses in the running of the society. This is where the Cultural Revolution in China is so important. It is by far the most far-reaching effort along these lines in the history of socialist power. Superficially, and at one level, it is against the Communist Party itself (and all others with power who fail to use it to activate the masses), but only in the sense of strengthening the Party by emphasizing its members' revolutionary duty. It is a purge, not so much of individual men from the Party (though to a certain extent it is that) as of revolutionary, and therefore counter-revolutionary, thoughts from men's minds.

Why do I go through all this? Because there is in Deberry's book not the first hint of a recognition that a party has this kind of all-important function to perform—and he writes at the time of the Cultural Revolution in China, an experience and example from which all revolutionaries should learn a great deal. But I am most concerned about the potentially deleterious effect of Deberry's thinking on the movement in the U.S. On a traditional level (governing aside, for now, Cultural Revolution), there are two kinds of political education. From

one, how power is related to the lower levels of oppression (as, to control such phenomena as such, all of them are extremely valuable lessons to learn, and form the basis without which all other forms of learning are, substantially, useless).

But there is another form of political learning, built upon but concerned with learning through action: it is the development to a higher level of generalization of the principles and insights we have gained in learning through action. It is over to think about social change—in a long-term, strategic, historical sense this ability to generalize from our (and our comrades') particular experiences is absolutely vital—but it is a skill too often discouraged and much too little practiced in our movement.

The point has been frequently made: movement people are too often anti- and half-hearted, we lack historical roots and solid radical scholarship. These charges are too true, and I greatly fear that the result of what seems to me to be Deberry's celebration of action—as the main—say, anti—basis of political education will be to encourage these unfortunate trends among New Leftists.

But I must repeat, in closing, that Deberry's main point must be affirmed and re-affirmed, with respect to both Latin America and the U.S.—although I understand it is a struggle here to the right, the tactical understanding, and the political experience to determine the direction of that struggle. And let me add a last, auxiliary point: when a group arises, who, due to their superior political and

Communist

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Liaison
DATE: 11/13/67

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

Due to the interest of the President in protests concerning U.S. policy toward Vietnam, we have prepared a summary, copy attached for ready reference, setting forth the current and planned future activity in this matter. Highlights of this summary are as follows:

Approximately 25 individuals representing the Youth Against War and Fascism, a youth affiliate of the Workers World Party, a pro-Chinese communist group, demonstrated at the Americana Hotel, New York City, on 11/9/67 where the President was speaking. Fifty demonstrators also picketed at the United States Marine Corps Air Station at El Toro, California, on 11/10/67. The President was visiting the Marine Corps Air Station.

Demonstrations were held on various campuses throughout the country in protest to the Vietnam war and campus-recruiting. Among these were Towson State College, Towson, Maryland, on 11/10/67; St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri, on 11/9/67; Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on 11/9/67; and Northern Illinois University, De Kalb, Illinois, on 11/9/67.

Approximately 35 to 50 demonstrators protesting the Vietnam war gathered at the end of the Veterans Day Parade held in Denver, Colorado, on 11/11/67. The protesters were escorted along the line of the march by the police. During the march, spectators booed and heckled the demonstrators. Following the march, a crowd gathered around the demonstrators and fought with them.

Enclosure

105-138315

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87 NOV 130 1967

13 NOV 16 1967

CONTINUED - OVER

70 NOV 24 1967
MAR 1 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Nemo to Mr. Sullivan
RE: DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM

105-138315

Two hundred fifty demonstrators gathered in Union Square, New York City, on 11/11/67 to protest the war.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed memorandum to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, the White House; the Vice President; the Secretary of State; the Secretary of Defense; the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency; U.S. Secret Service; and the Attorney General be approved.

JHK *WCE* *P* ✓ *b*

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 14, 1967

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM

The Communist Party and other organizations are continuing their efforts to force the United States to change its present policy toward Vietnam. There is set forth below a summary of current and planned future activity through which they hope to accomplish this end.

Youth Against War and Fascism

Approximately 25 individuals representing the Youth Against War and Fascism, a youth affiliate of the Workers World Party, a pro-Chinese communist group, demonstrated against the war in Vietnam in the vicinity of the Americana Hotel, New York City, on November 9, 1967. At that time, President Johnson was addressing the National Trade Union Council for Human Rights. The demonstrators carried signs protesting the war.

Visit of the President, Marine Corps Air Station, El Toro, California

On November 10, 1967, approximately 50 demonstrators appeared at the main gate of the United States Marine Corps Air Station, El Toro, California, at approximately 11 a.m. The demonstrators carried signs urging withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam. The group marched peacefully outside the main gate and dispersed at 1 p.m. Two automobiles with demonstrators carrying concealed signs entered the post with the regular crowd. When the demonstrators displayed their signs, they were ushered outside the main gate.

Declassified 482 SGM/SB
2/9/78

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GROUP 1

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downgrading and
declassification

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**DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM**

Visit of the President, Williamsburg, Virginia, November 11, 1967

While the President was attending Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg, Virginia, a group of about 15 students from the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, carried signs protesting the war outside the Church.

Demonstrations Against Campus and Other Recruitment

Professor Phillip Marcus, a Political Science teacher, Towson State College, Towson, Maryland, and four other white male individuals demonstrated against the Vietnam war and the draft on the campus of Towson State College on November 10, 1967. The demonstrators distributed leaflets referring to the draft as "Selective Slavery System."

Twenty-five individuals, some of whom are officers or members of the Michiana Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a group opposed to the Vietnam war, staged a demonstration at the United States Post Office, South Bend, Indiana, on November 9, 1967. During this demonstration, 26 military inductees were in the building awaiting transportation to the induction center at Chicago, Illinois. The demonstrators distributed leaflets entitled "You Don't Have to Go."

Twenty-two demonstrators gathered at the Federal Building at Chicago, Illinois, on November 9, 1967, displaying placards advertising opposition to military service in Vietnam and support for Daniel Bromley who is currently on trial in Cincinnati, Ohio, for a draft violation.

On November 9, 1967, approximately 25 students representing the St. Louis University Action Committee, a group which opposes the war in Vietnam, protested United States Air Force recruiting at St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri. The group sat down around the recruiting table, but did not physically interfere with any individual approaching the Air Force recruiter.

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**DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM**

On November 9, 1967, approximately 85 students staged a sit-in in the private office of the President of Howard University, Washington, D. C., Dr. James Nabrit. The group protested the compulsory nature of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps at the University.

Approximately 400 individuals, including students and faculty members of the Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, demonstrated in the lobby of Skibo Hall, Carnegie-Mellon University, on November 9, 1967. The demonstration was against the presence of Dow Chemical Company recruiting on the campus. The American Foreign Policy Forum, a campus-recognized student organization at the University, was primarily responsible for organizing the demonstration. The Forum is an organization opposed to the Vietnam war.

Approximately 25 individuals participated in a demonstration sponsored by the Students for Peace, a campus-approved organization at the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The demonstration, held at the University of Pittsburgh, opposed the presence of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps on the campus. During this demonstration, a group of approximately 25 students who were in favor of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps counterdemonstrated against the Students for Peace.

A demonstration sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society was held on the campus of the Northern Illinois University, De Kalb, Illinois, on November 9, 1967. This demonstration was against recruiting by the Central Intelligence Agency on the campus. Recruiting by the Central Intelligence Agency had terminated on November 8, 1967.

~~The Students for a Democratic Society~~ is a militant youth group which Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, has described as a group which the Party has "going for us."

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**DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM**

Demonstration Against General Harold K. Johnson

Approximately 15 pickets carrying signs with anti-Vietnam war slogans picketed the arrival of General Johnson in Salt Lake City, Utah, on November 9, 1967. General Johnson appeared in Salt Lake City to speak at the Mormon Tabernacle. The pickets were sponsored by the April Committee, a group which is in opposition to the Vietnam war.

Other Demonstrations

A peace march sponsored by the Committee for Intelligent Action was held at Missoula, Montana, on November 10, 1967. The marchers proceeded from the University of Montana campus through downtown Missoula and returned to the University. Approximately 275 individuals participated, including students and some members of the faculty of the University of Montana. The Committee for Intelligent Action is an anti-Vietnam group.

The New Paltz Peace Group under the direction of Wade Thompson, a professor at the State University of New York, New Paltz, New York, held a peace vigil on November 11, 1967, at New Paltz, New York. The group failed to obtain the necessary permit from city officials and 21 persons were arrested by local police. They were released on \$50 bail.

One hundred fifty students demonstrated on November 10, 1967, on the campus of Utica College of Syracuse University, Utica, New York, in protest of the scheduled appearance on the campus of Edward Dolehanty, the American Legion State Commander. The demonstrators protested the Legion's "policy of infringing upon freedom of speech."

Approximately 35 to 50 demonstrators protesting the Vietnam war gathered at the end of the Veterans Day Parade held in Denver, Colorado, on November 11, 1967. These protesters carried signs critical of the Vietnam war and one such sign stated "Vietnam War is Disgrace to Veterans."

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**DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM**

At before the demonstrators entered onto 15th Street, Denver, several men dressed in uniforms of various veterans organizations lined up across the entrance to 15th Street preventing the demonstrators from following the Parade. Denver police forced the veterans to permit the demonstrators to continue and the demonstrators were thereafter escorted by the Denver police officers. During the march through downtown Denver, those demonstrators were booed and heckled by spectators lining the route. Sporadic fistfights broke out between the demonstrators and the spectators. Toward the end of the march the demonstrators were joined by Robert Trujillo, the Chairman of the Communist Party of Denver. When the march ended, a large crowd gathered around the demonstrators, tore their signs and fought with them.

Approximately 250 persons gathered in Union Square, New York City, on November 11, 1967, to hold an anti-Vietnam war rally. Leaflets distributed and placards and banners carried indicated the rally was sponsored by the Vietnam War Veterans Against the War, New York City, and the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, New York City. Both of those groups are in opposition to the Vietnam war. The main speakers were David Braum, a former United States Army Sergeant and Vietnam veteran; Dr. Arthur Blank, a former Chief Psychiatrist, 93rd Evacuation Hospital, Bien Hoa, South Vietnam; Richard Holland, a former Navy Lieutenant and Vietnam veteran; and T. J. Pinpell, master of ceremonies of the rally. All speeches ridiculed President Johnson and were critical of United States involvement in Vietnam. Issues of "The Worker" and "The Militant" were distributed during the demonstration. "The Worker" is an east-coast communist newspaper. "The Militant" is the official organ of the Socialist Workers Party which has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Approximately 35 individuals protesting the indictment of Daniel Bromley for violation of the Selective Service Act of 1948 gathered at the United States Court House, Los Angeles, California, on November 9, 1967. The demonstrators denied sponsorship by any organization and claimed

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**DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES
INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM**

that they had no official spokesman. Some individuals appeared in the office of the United States Attorney, Los Angeles, and sought to leave statements with United States Attorney W. Matthew Byrne indicating that they had either counseled, aided, abetted, or in similar cases done the same thing as Bromley. Byrne refused to personally accept this material, although he warned the demonstrators that the statements could constitute violations of law.

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FBI

Date: 2/15/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR (103-138315)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-42717)
SUBJECT: VIDEM

Remytel dated 2/13/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 10 copies of an LHM concerning the demonstration at Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Illinois, against recruiters of the U. S. Marine Corps on 2/13/68.

Copies of enclosed LHM are being disseminated to USA, Chicago, Secret Service, Chicago, and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

Elmhurst, Illinois PD was aware of instant demonstration as Elmhurst PD furnishes security for the Elmhurst College.

Chicago files contain insufficient information to subversively characterize those organizations mentioned in the LHM not subversively characterized.

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SERV.

RAO (ISD, CRD, GD) *Stat*

DATE FORW: *2-21-68*

HOW FORW: *RA*

BY: *R.H.H. P.H.K.*

NOT RECORDED
136 FEB 23 1968

- (3) - Bureau (Enc. 10) *ENCLOSURE*
(1 - 100-439048) (SDS)
2 - Chicago
(1 - 100-40903)

DES: kmg
(5)

F.D.C. Bishop

4 FEB 19 1968

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-138315-147



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
February 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-42717

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED
STATES INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM

On February 12, 1968, [redacted] b7c
Elmhurst, Illinois Police Department, advised that on
February 13, 1968, a protest has been planned by the Student
Union for Social Action of Elmhurst College against on-campus
recruiting by the United States Marine Corps.

On February 13, 1968, [redacted] b7c
advised that between 10:00 AM and 2:00 PM, six to eight individuals
maintained a table opposite one utilized by the United States
Marine Corps for the purpose of recruiting. The individuals
maintaining the table displayed signs in protest of the Vietnam
war and identified themselves as being members of the Student
Union for Social Action. [redacted] advised the
demonstration was orderly, in which ultimately six to eight
individuals participated. There was no disruption of the
Marine Corps recruiting efforts, and according to [redacted]
[redacted] there were no arrests made.

The following persons were advised of the activities
set forth in this communication:

[redacted] United States Secret Service,
Chicago, Illinois. b7c

[redacted] Region 1, 113th MI Group,
Evanston, Illinois.

[redacted] United States Attorney's
Office, Chicago.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to
your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed
outside your agency.

100 439048-
ENCLOSURE

2/23/68

87C

AIRTEL

To: SACs, Chicago (105-23647)
New York
San Diego
WFO (105-78010)

From: Director, FBI (105-162271)

RUDOLF ALFRED WILLI DUTSCHKE

(OO: CG)

ReBulet to Chicago 11/28/67 and SDlet to Bureau

2/8/68.

[REDACTED]

81

For information of New York, subject is citizen of West Germany who is prominent as a radical student leader in West Berlin. He reportedly fled from Soviet Zone of Germany in 1960 to avoid military service. He was born 3/7/40 at Berlin, Germany, and is married to Gretchen Jean Dutschke, nee Klotz who was born 3/3/42 at Chicago, Illinois. He has been described as a brilliant student and an extremely effective leader in anti-U. S. student demonstrations in Germany. He

- 1 - Sacramento
- 1 - San Francisco
- 1 - Legat, Bonn (105-6316)
- 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit
- 1 - 100-439048 (SDS) - 5-21

LFS:plk
(16)

100-439048
NOT RECORDED
FEB 27 1968
DUPLICATE YELLOW

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

54 MAR 4 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-162271/13

Airtel to SAC, Chicago
EZ: RUCOLF ALFRED WILLI DUTSCHKE

has had past contacts with leaders of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in the U. S. Previously developed information indicated subject was planning to come to U. S. for graduate studies at University of California at Berkeley or San Diego, California. He previously entered U. S. at New York 9/26/66 on a B-2 visa issued at Amsterdam, Holland. His wife possesses U. S. passport number E108922 issued 1/15/64 at Chicago in her maiden name.

[REDACTED] 61

[REDACTED] 61

WFO recontact State Department for any additional information which may be available concerning subject.

NOTE:

Information from Legat, Bonn, was received telephonically on 2/23/68 by [REDACTED] 67C

Date of Mail

2/19/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject

JUNE MAIL

Students for a Democratic Society

Removed By

9 9 MAR 1968

File Number

100-439048

240
Permanent Serial Charge Out

100-439048-(2228)

CHANGED TO

100-439048-232-(6X)

AUG 5 1971

min 4 min

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3/11/68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHICAGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN CHICAGO	DATE 3/5/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 2/9-3/1/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, CHICAGO DIVISION		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY deb
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-SDS	

REFERENCE: Report of [REDACTED] dated 2/8/68 at Chicago.
Bureau airtel to Albany dated 12/5/67.

- P* -

LEAD
CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will follow and report activities of SDS chapters within the Chicago Division in 90 days.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being furnished to 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois, and NISO and OSI, Chicago, in view of their interest in SDS.

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 8-Bureau (100-439048) (RM) 1-113th MI Group, Region I, Evanston (Via courier) 1-OSI, Chicago (Via courier) 1-NISO, Chicago (Via courier) 3-Chicago (100-40903)		1 MAR 7 1968	REC-74 EX 107
Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations	
Agency	RAD-ISO, C.D. (At: Wanda Kamp)	<i>[Signature]</i>	
Request Recd.	ONT OST ACST		
Date Fwd.	3/19/68		
How Fwd.	A/S		
By	[Signature]		

66 MAR 25 1968

CG 100-40903

This report has been classified confidential because it contains information furnished by [REDACTED] through [REDACTED] through [REDACTED] who are sources of continuing value, and the identification of these sources could possibly have an adverse effect on the internal security of the U.S. b7D

All individuals mentioned in this report as either being officers, leaders or activists are being considered for inclusion on the Security Index or are on the Security Index.

Individuals mentioned in this report concerning whom subversive characterizations were not set forth were checked through the indices of the Chicago Office and this check was negative or insufficient identifying data was available from which a subversive characterization could be constructed.

The Bureau is requested to note that the Chicago Office recently received information that several SDS members were possibly in attendance at North Central College, Naperville, Illinois; however, preliminary investigation failed to reflect that a SDS chapter is presently in existence on this campus. Chicago is continuing its investigation regarding this matter, and if further investigation develops that either SDS members are in attendance or that a SDS chapter is actually functioning appropriate action will be taken in accordance with Bureau instructions.

INFORMANTS

Source

Location

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b1
b7D

Characterization of DANNY FRIEDLANDER

[REDACTED]

- B -
COVER PAGE

CO 100-40003

Source

Location

[REDACTED]

B1
B7D

Characterization of BERNIE FARBER
FREDDIE KUSHNER

Characterization of FREDDIE KUSHNER

[REDACTED]

CG 100-40903

Source

Location

[REDACTED]

61
B7D

Characterization of BRUCE HUSTON
ROBIN MAISEL

Characterization of RENNIE DAVIS

- D* -
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1-Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston (Via courier)
Copy to: 1-OSI, Chicago (Via courier)
1-NIS, Chicago (Via courier)

Report of
Date

3/5/68

87C

Office: CHICAGO

Field Office File #: 100-40903

Bureau File #: 100-439048

Title: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY, CHICAGO DIVISION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY-SDS

Synopsis: Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) chapters presently located at University of Chicago, University of Illinois Circle Campus, Roosevelt University, Loyola University, Illinois Institute of Technology, all located Chicago, Illinois; Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois; Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois; and Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois. Hank Williams SDS Chapter recently organized in Chicago, and when fully organized will most likely consist of members residing in Chicago and immediate area. Officers, leaders and size of SDS chapters set forth. SDS chapters located in Chicago and vicinity sponsored demonstrations protesting war in Vietnam and presence of Dow Chemical Company, military, and Central Intelligence Agency recruiters on college campuses. Additional background information, where available, regarding SDS chapter officers and leaders set forth.

- P* - dlh

Retain
CLASSIFIED BY 44-89 m/sB
EXEMPT FROM GDS
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
para marked C. & Thurner 21

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Gr p 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

CG 100-40903

DETAILS AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The following organizations mentioned in this report which have not been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 are characterized in the appendix section:

Socialist Workers Party, Chicago Branch
Students for a Democratic Society
Young Socialist Alliance

I. UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO-STUDENTS FOR
A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY CHAPTER (UC-SDS)

1. Officers and Membership

Source advised on February 5, 1968, that the UC-SDS Chapter has a membership of approximately 50 individuals. Source further advised the UC-SDS Chapter does not have individual officers, but that the following individuals act as leaders of this SDS Chapter:

ERNEST DORNFELD
STEVE KINDRED

DANNY FRIEDLANDER
CHRIS HOBSON

[REDACTED]

B7D

Corroborating source [REDACTED]

DANNY FRIEDLANDER

On February 27, 1968, source advised that DANNY FRIEDLANDER was a current member of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

B7D

[REDACTED]

2. Aims and Purposes

Source advised that the UC-SDS has the following aims and purposes:

1. Have a voice in the operation of the UC
2. End the war in Vietnam
3. End the draft
4. That UC should cease cooperating with the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA), an organization which helps to design sophisticated weapons and logistical systems for the war in Vietnam.

Corroborating source [REDACTED]

3. General Activities

• B7D

Source advised on November 6, 1967, that the UC-SDS Chapter sponsored a picket demonstration on this date in the vicinity of Haskell Hall, UC, Chicago, Illinois, commencing at 12:00 Noon. Source further advised the demonstrators, which numbered approximately 200 individuals, carried placards which protested Dow Chemical Company recruiters on the UC campus. Some of the placards read as follows: "Jelly Is For Toast, Not Toasting," "Dow Burns Babies," and "Dow Shall Not Kill."

Source also advised the demonstration, which terminated at 2:00 PM, was peaceful with no arrests or incidents.

On January 18, 1968, source advised the UC-SDS Chapter sponsored a "skit" at the Hutchinson Commons, UC, which was a "satirical absolution" of the sins of the 57 students who were expelled from the UC in the spring of 1967 for their participation in an anti-draft rank demonstration.

CG 100-40403

According to source, the "skit" commenced at 12:10 PM, January 13, 1968, with approximately 400 students and University personnel who were observing while on their lunch hour. The actors in this "skit" were for the most part SDS members, and the "skit" depicted expelled students begging forgiveness of their "sins" before University officials who were made the objects of vilification.

Source added the "skit" ended at 12:30 PM without incident.

On February 1, 1968, source advised that the UC-SDS Chapter and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) upon learning that Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY would speak at Mandel Hall, UC, organized a picket demonstration to protest the war in Vietnam.

Source advised that at approximately 9:00 PM, that date, about 50 pickets gathered in front of Mandel Hall, UC, while Vice President HUMPHREY was speaking, and by 11:00 PM the number of demonstrators had increased to 300. B7D

Source further advised that this demonstration continued until 11:25 PM at which time it terminated with no arrests or incidents.

Source advised that the UC-SDS Chapter sponsored a demonstration on February 3, 1968, on the UC campus which was to coincide with a meeting of the University's Council of Faculty Senate. This meeting, according to source, would be held at the Business East Building on campus and would vote on whether the University would continue to maintain its relationship with the IDA. The purpose of this demonstration would be to register its objection to the University's complicity with IDA.

Source further advised this demonstration commenced at 3:00 PM February 13, 1968; approximately 36 persons participated and the demonstrators carried signs reading

CG 100-40903

DA Helpe U.S. Kill Better Everywhere" and "UC Get Out. of IDA." In addition, a fact sheet published by the UC-SDS was distributed which requested bail money to be used for individuals arrested in connection with the recent racial incidents occurring in Orangeburg, South Carolina.

Source also advised that this demonstration was peaceful throughout and it terminated without incident at 3:50 PM on February 13, 1968.

II. UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE
CAMPUS (UICC) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

On February 28, 1968, source advised that the UICC-SDS Chapter has approximately 20 members with the following officers: B7D

JACOB MOROWITZ - President
THOMAS JAMES SUHRBUR - Treasurer

2. Aims and Purposes

Source advised on February 28, 1968, that the UICC-SDS Chapter has the following aims and purposes:

1. To obtain control of all recruiting on the UICC to the extent that SDS will have a voice as to whether or not company or military representatives will be allowed space on the campus to recruit students.
2. A voice in the selection of faculty members and in the adoption of administrative procedures at the UICC.
3. A program to gather support for a demand that United States troops be withdrawn from South Vietnam.

4. An end to the draft.

3. General Activities

Source advised on January 15, 1968, that the SDS Chapter at UICC was one of the sponsoring organizations which would conduct a sit-in and mill-in demonstration on the second floor of the Union Center, UICC, Chicago, from 9:00 AM to 12:00 Noon on January 16, 1968, in protest of a United States Marine Corps Recruiting Booth to be located on the campus on that date.

Source advised on January 16, 1968, that approximately 30 persons including representatives of SDS appeared at the United States Marine Corps Recruiting Booth located at the Union Center, UICC, that date. According to source, these individuals did not interfere with the operation of the recruitment booth and there were no arrests or incidents. This source advised, however, that a sit-in demonstration was planned for January 17, 1968, for the purpose of blocking the Marine Corps Recruitment Booth. 670

Source advised on January 17, 1968, that between 12 to 15 demonstrators surrounded and occupied the Marine Corps Recruiting Booth on the UICC from 10:00 AM to 2:45 PM on January 17, 1968. Source stated that the two Marine recruiters, in the interest of public safety, did not man the booth awaiting attempts by UICC officials to disperse the demonstrators. Direct orders of the school officials to disperse were ignored by the demonstrators and the recruiters were never able to occupy the booth during the day.

Source advised on January 17, 1968, that JACOB MOROWITZ, President of the UICC-SDS Chapter, took no part in occupying the Marine Corps Recruiting Booth but was observed circulating among the students at the demonstration.

CG 100-40260

III. ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY (RU)
SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

On February 23, 1968, source advised that the RU-SDS Chapter, Chicago, has a membership of approximately 40 individuals and that the following act in a leadership capacity in this SDS Chapter:

MICHAEL DAVIDSON
BERNIE FARMER
FREDDIE KUSHNER

[REDACTED]

2. Aims and Objectives

Source further advised on February 23, 1968, that the RU-SDS Chapter to date has not developed a definite program, but that in the future its primary activities will be around the Vietnam war and pressing for changes in the operation of RU.

[REDACTED]

BERNIE FARMER

Source advised that during August, 1965, FARMER was in attendance at a CP of Illinois Youth School. *AK*

[REDACTED]

FREDDIE KUSHNER

Source advised that FREDDIE KUSHNER was in attendance at a CP of Illinois Youth School in Chicago during August, 1965. *AK*

[REDACTED]

Source advised that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) held a fund raising party in Chicago on October 15, 1966, and among those in attendance was FREDDIE KUSHNER.

[REDACTED]

CG 100-40003

General Activities

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

b7D

IV. NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
(NU) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

On February 16, 1968, source advised that the NU-SDS Chapter, Evanston, Illinois, has a membership of approximately 13 members and that the following individuals act as leaders of this chapter:

SUSITA CLINE-Acting President
STEVE LUBET

Source further advised that the NU-SDS Chapter is a college approved organization.

[REDACTED]

b7D

General Activities

On February 14, 1968, source advised that students from NU, Evanston, who opposed United States policy in Vietnam, which included members of the NU-SDS Chapter, held a demonstration outside the NU Placement Center, 1940 Sheridan Road, Evanston, on February 14, 1968.

Source advised this demonstration was in protest against the Dow Chemical Company, which company was recruiting employees at NU. Source stated this demonstration commenced at 9:00 AM February 14, 1968, with approximately 75 individuals participating. Several of the participants carried placards which read "Children Hate Napalm Bombs," "Children Love Life," "Peace on Earth," "Get Dow Off Campus" and "Dow Shalt Not Kill." By 1:00 PM the participants in the demonstrations increased to approximately 225 individuals, and at 1:40 PM approximately 200 participants proceeded to the Rebecca Crown Center, Clark Street, Evanston, wherein the office of the President of NU is located. Source added that a few speeches were then given, and at 2:00 PM the demonstrators dispersed from the Rebecca Crown Center and a few returned to the Placement Center, NU. At 3:00 PM only 15 participants continued demonstrating, and at 3:10 PM the demonstration ended with all participants leaving the area. This demonstration was peaceful with no arrests.

V. NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
(NIU) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

On February 20, 1968, source advised the NIU-SDS Chapter, DeKalb, Illinois, has a membership of approximately 14 individuals with the following who act as leaders of this chapter:

DAVID L. CLARK-Chairman
STEVEN E. MOORE

CG 100-40903

Source further advised that the NIU-SDS Chapter is sanctioned by NIU officials on campus and are allowed the use of NIU facilities in connection with its activities.

[REDACTED]

2. General Activities

On November 3, 1967, source advised that DAVID CLARK, Chairman of the SDS Chapter at NIU, had applied for and received permission for the NIU-SDS Chapter to conduct a picket demonstration and debate against the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) representatives who would be on the NIU campus November 7-9, 1967, for the purpose of interviewing prospective employees.

Source further advised that in the SDS application to conduct the aforementioned demonstration, it was indicated SDS would not attempt to stop anyone from being interviewed, by the CIA representatives, but would however attempt to discourage NIU students from being interviewed.

[REDACTED]

On November 7-9, 1967, source advised that the NIU-SDS Chapter sponsored a picket demonstration in the vicinity of Lowden Hall, NIU, which protested the presence of CIA recruiters on the NIU campus during the period November 7-9, 1967.

Source further advised that on November 7, 1967, approximately 18-20 different individuals picketed in the immediate vicinity of Lowden Hall, NIU, throughout the day; on November 8, 1967, approximately 10 to 15 different individuals picketed in the immediate vicinity of Lowden Hall throughout the day; and on November 9, 1967, approximately five individuals picketed in the immediate vicinity of Lowden Hall from 11:30 AM to 2:00 PM, at which time the picket demonstration was terminated.

Source also advised that during the entire course of this demonstration no debates were held inasmuch as the demonstration lacked support. Source added that also during

CG 100-40903

During the course of this demonstration the demonstrators carried signs protesting CIA's presence on the NIU campus, and some of these signs read as follows: "This Picket Is Not Financed by CIA," "Conspiracy in Asia" and "Big Brother is Here and Recruiting."

Source stated that the aforementioned demonstration was considered a failure and that the demonstration was peaceful with no arrests or incidents.

[REDACTED]

On February 12, 1968, source advised that the NIU-SDS Chapter would be one of the sponsoring organizations which would sponsor a demonstration on the NIU campus on February 13, 1968, protesting the presence of a Dow Chemical Company recruiter on the NIU campus that date. b7D

[REDACTED]

On February 13, 1968, source advised that at 1:00 PM, that date, approximately 150 students and several faculty members of NIU assembled at the main entrance of Lowden Hall and displayed various signs in protest to the war in Vietnam and the presence of a Dow Chemical Company recruiter who was on the NIU campus at that time. Among the signs displayed during the course of this demonstration were the following: "Burn Toast-Not Children," "Bring the Boys Home from Vietnam," "Down with Dow," and "Stop the War in Vietnam."

Source further advised that at approximately 2:30 PM February 13, 1968, the demonstrators, who were led by STEVE FRANK, an officer of SDS at NIU, began demanding that the Dow Chemical Company recruiter speak to them on Vietnam war issues and of the manufacturing of napalm jelly by the Dow Chemical Company. According to source, at approximately 3:15 PM, approximately 30 student demonstrators sat down at the main entrance of Lowden Hall in protest to the fact that the Dow Chemical Company recruiter would not appear. At this point source advised that Dr. FRANCIS GEIGER, Executive Vice President, NIU, advised the demonstrators that the front doors

CG 100-40903

of Lowden Hall were locked, thus precluding the entrance of the demonstrators into the hall. At 3:30 PM the Dow Chemical Company recruiter acceded to the demonstrators and spoke to them for several minutes from the Lowden Hall steps explaining his position as a recruiter with the Dow Chemical Company.

Source also advised that the demonstration ended at 4:30 PM, February 13, 1968, without further incident and no arrests were made.

VI. LAKE FOREST COLLEGE
(LFC) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

Source advised on February 13, 1968, that the LFC-SDS Chapter, Lake Forest, Illinois, has approximately 25 -30 members with the following officers:

MARC P. KRAMER-Chairman
ANITA F. CHIRIBOGA-Secretary-Treasurer

Source further advised that the LFC-SDS Chapter is a college approved organization; however, to date this chapter does not hold regular meetings nor does it have a program. The LFC-SDS Chapter does not have any influence on the LFC campus.

2. General Activities

On February 27, 1968, source advised that to date the LFC-SDS Chapter has not sponsored any demonstrations on the LFC campus.

CG 100-48903

VII. LOYOLA UNIVERSITY (LU) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

Source advised on February 26, 1968, that the SDS Chapter at LU, Chicago, has only about five or six members and that the following individuals act in a leadership capacity for the chapter:

RICHARD KALWA
JIM INGRAM
PAUL MC ADDANS

Source further advised the LU SDS Chapter has no significant organized activity. Source added that two or three of its members are of such divergent personalities and have such individualistic tendencies that it would be almost impossible to get them to agree on any organized activity.

2. General Activities

CG 100-40903

VIII. ELMHURST COLLEGE (EC) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

Source advised on February 8, 1968, that there is currently no SDS chapter or organization on the EC campus.

[REDACTED]

Source advised on February 12, 1968, that at the beginning of the fall 1967 semester at EC, a feeble attempt was made by THOMAS MATTERN, a senior at EC, to get a SDS Chapter organized at this college; however, he noted there was no success in this endeavor due to the lack of student interest.

[REDACTED]

IX. ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY (IIT) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

On February 18, 1968, source advised that the IIT, Chicago, SDS Chapter has approximately five members and that PETER PRAN acts as the leader of this SDS Chapter.

Source further advised the IIT SDS Chapter is not a campus approved organization and that to source's knowledge does not hold regular meetings.

[REDACTED]

2. General Activities

Source advised on October 18, 1967, the IIT SDS Chapter sponsored a picket demonstration at the corner of 35th and State Streets, Chicago, which is in the immediate vicinity of IIT. Source stated the purpose of this demonstration was to protest poison gas research work at IIT by the United States Government and that approximately 60 individuals participated, including the following PETER PRAN, BRUCE HUSTON and ROBIN MAISEL.

CG 100-40903

According to source, this demonstration, which commenced at approximately 5:00 PM and terminated at 6:07 PM, was peaceful with no arrests or incidents.

[REDACTED]
Corroborating source [REDACTED]

BRUCE HUSTON

Source advised that as of October, 1967, BRUCE HUSTON was a member of the Socialist Workers Party-Chicago Branch (SWP-CB).

[REDACTED]
ROBIN MAISEL

Source advised that as of October, 1967, ROBIN MAISEL was a member of the SWP-CB.

• B-7D

[REDACTED]
X. HANK WILLIAMS CHAPTER-SDS

On February 23, 1968, source advised that RENNIE DAVIS and RICHARD ROTHSTEIN were recently heard to state that they were members of the newly organized Hank Williams SDS Chapter. DAVIS and ROTHSTEIN added that this chapter was named in memory of HANK WILLIAMS, a country music singer and song writer who was killed in an automobile accident during the 1950s.

Source further advised that the Hank Williams SDS Chapter, when fully organized, will most likely consist of members who reside in Chicago and the immediate area and will in all probability hold their meetings at the JOIN Community Union, 4533 North Sheridan Road, Chicago.

CG 100-40903

RENNIE DAVIS

Source advised that RENNIE DAVIS is a leader of the Join Community Union, formerly known as Jobs or Income Now (JOIN), which is the community action organization of the SDS.

Source also advised that during the latter part of 1967, RENNIE DAVIS travelled to North Vietnam where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front.

 b7D

RICHARD ROTHSTEIN

The SDS "Bulletin," Issue #3, November, 1965, contained an article authored by RICHARD ROTHSTEIN in which he identified himself as an organizer for JOIN.

1

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
CHICAGO BRANCH

In May, 1967, a source advised that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve as SWP national functionaries, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP national headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

1

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX"YOUNG SOCIALIST"~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The "Young Socialist" newspaper was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The "Young Socialist" maintains office space at the headquarters of the YSA, Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square, West, New York City, and has a mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

A characterization of the YSA is set out separately.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
March 5, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CG 100-40903

Title STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY, CHICAGO DIVISION

Character INTERNAL SECURITY-SDS

Reference Report of [REDACTED] dated and cap-
tioned as above at Chicago.

87C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

Date of Mail

- 2/24/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject

JUNE MAIL

*Students for a
Democratic Society*

Removed By

99142 31968

File Number

100-437048

JP
Permanent Serial Charge Out

100-434048-2232

CHANGED TO

100-439048-33-17X

AUG 5 1971

msfmsk

✓

Date of Mail

3/14/68

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject

JUNE MAIL

*Students For a
Democratic Society*

Removed By

99 MAR 21 1968

File Number

100 - 437048 - 2234

Permanent Serial Charge Out

Date of Mail FEBRUARY 29, 1968

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL Students For a Democratic Society

Removed By 98 APR 23 1968

File Number 100-439048-2235

Permanent Serial Charge Out

100-439048-1237
CHANGED TO
 100-439048-8-38

APR 3 1968

J21

23/4

Date of Mail March 6, 1968

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL *Students for a Democratic Society*

Removed By 99 MAR 22 1968

File Number 100-439048-2238

Permanent Serial Charge Out

100-439048-2239, 2240

CHANGED TO

100-439048-232 (6X1)

100-439048-34-137K

AUG 5 1971

my father!

✓

100-439048-(2242), 2243

CHANGED TO

100-439048-232-(612)

100-439048-34-144X.

AUG 5 1971

MH Smith

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: 3/15/68

FROM : Mr. D. Brennan *DB*

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
POSSIBLE FUTURE INTIMIDATION OF
SPECIAL AGENT OF THE FBI

Handwritten initials and signatures
Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

PURPOSE:

To advise of plans being formulated by members of SDS, a militant new left group, to harass and intimidate an FBI Agent who recently testified in a Denver Selective Service Act case involving an SDS member and to recommend that Denver be instructed to aggressively follow this matter and promptly initiate investigation of any violations of Federal laws committed by these individuals.

BACKGROUND:

The Denver Office has advised that Special Agent G. Howard Carter, who is assigned to the Denver Office, testified on 2/29/68 in the trial of Mendel L. Cooper, an individual who burned his draft card at an antidraft rally in Denver in October, 1967. Informants reported that following Special Agent Carter's testimony, a meeting of SDS was held in Denver. At this meeting, several SDS members stated that they had seen Special Agent Carter at previous SDS meetings. (Denver has advised that this is not true and at no time has Special Agent Carter or any other Agent attended SDS meetings) After this statement was made, a discussion was held regarding ways and means the group might harass Special Agent Carter. It was suggested that a bill be sent to him for SDS membership dues and it was pointed out that Carter had given his address in court while testifying.

On 3/8/68, an article appeared in the "Clarion," a Denver University campus newspaper, entitled "SDS Finds FBI Agent Posing As Grad Student." The article alleges that Special Agent Carter has posed as a member of SDS and a graduate student at the University of Denver since last fall.

Enclosure *sent 3-18-68*
100-439048
CWT:jav (8)

CONTINUED - OVER

1 MAR 26 1968

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Rosen (Route
through for review)
1 - Mr. Gale

1 - Mr. Callahan
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

70 APR 1 1968

PERS. REC. UNIT

Memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
100-439048

ACTION TAKEN:

The Denver Office has contacted the Chancellor at Denver University and advised him that there was no word of truth in the article. The information regarding plans being formulated by the SDS to harass and intimidate Special Agent Carter was brought to the attention of the U. S. Attorney in Denver who advised that any overt act committed in furtherance of such plans may constitute a violation of Title 18, Section 111, USC (Assault of Federal Officer). He requested that any evidence of intimidation or harassment of Special Agent Carter be brought to his attention immediately. No such evidence has been developed to date.

Denver is being instructed to promptly initiate investigation of any violations of Federal laws arising from activities of these individuals and to promptly advise the Bureau of any additional developments.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached airtel to Denver which contains instructions in accordance with above observations be approved.

Curtis
W.C. Sullivan
GA
H

3/15/68

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)
(100-42615)
SUBJECT: MICHAEL HERMAN GOLDFELD
SM-SDS

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY
IS-SDS

Re Jacksonville airtel to Bureau dated 2/21/68,
captioned "ALAN THOMAS LEVIN, SM-SBOC," and Washington Field
airtel to Director dated 2/27/68, captioned "SDS."

Enclosed for the Bureau are seven copies of a
letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above and one
copy for New York. One copy of this LHM is being furnished
to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Chicago,
in view of their interest in subject.

The LHM is classified confidential to protect
the identity of the sources used therein who are of con-
tinuing value and whose exposure could be detrimental to
the national defense.

The files of the Passport Office, U.S. Department
of State, Washington, D. C., were reviewed on 2/20 and 26/68,
by [REDACTED]

- 4 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (RM)
① - SDS
1 - New York (Encls. 1) (RM)
2 - Chicago
(1 - 100-42615)

LGR:pag
(3)

54 APR 2 1968
ENCLOSURE

100-4-100-18-
NOT RECORDED
202 MAR 21 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-4-100-18-449124

CO 100-40903
100-42615

b7C
b7E

LEAD

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Chicago preparing Summary Report of GOLDFIELD and when Summary Report submitted, a recommendation will be made concerning [REDACTED]

b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

March 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-40903
100-42615

CONFIDENTIAL

MICHAEL HERMAN GOLDFIELD

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY

The "Florida Alligator", daily campus newspaper, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, in its issue dated February 20, 1968, carried on page one a copyright article by Steve Hull, Editor, and Harvey Alper, Managing Editor. This article states that the "Alligator" learned on February 19, 1968, that Alan Levin and nineteen other members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) from throughout the United States are in Cuba as guests of the Cuban Government. According to the article, the group is in Cuba "to talk to representatives of North Korea and the National Liberation Front of North Viet Nam" and "to spend some time in Cuba working in Cuban fields".

The article states that Joe Horton, a member of the visiting group and a Chicago SDS member, was quoted as saying in an interview over communist radio 'I will not go to Viet Nam to defend the interests of the Russians, the Rockefellers, and the Imperialists of my country. I would rather go to prison or die'.

According to the article, the group left from O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, Illinois, on February 6, 1968, for Mexico City and a connecting flight to Havana on Cuba's Cubana Airline.

*Declassified 148287M/MB
2-9-78*

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1,

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

MICHAEL HERMAN GOLDFIELD

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY

CONFIDENTIAL

The article states that the group is reported to be in Cuba for about two and one-half weeks and will return to the United States by freighter with a connection in Canada.

The above article stated that MIKE GOLDFIELD, University of Chicago, was a member of the above group.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

B7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIAL

UJ QJ
MICHAEL HERMAN GOLDFIELD

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY

CONFIDENTIAL

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7c

[REDACTED]

On March 12, 1968, it was ascertained by a [REDACTED] that Michael Goldfield presently resides at 3724 South Kenwood Avenue, Chicago. b7E

A source advised on January 24, 1966, that Michael Goldfield attended a regional conference of the SDS at Chicago, Illinois, on January 22, 1966.

A second source advised on September 6, 1966, that Michael Goldfield attended the National Convention of the SDS at Clear Lake, Iowa, which was held August 28, 1966, through September 1, 1966.

A characterization of SDS is attached to this memorandum.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

March 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-40903
100-42615

Title MICHAEL HERMAN GOLDFIELD
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Character

Reference Memorandum dated and captioned
as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

106-439048-(2246)

CHANGED TO

106-439048-232-(6X3)

AUG 5 1971

mutual

FBI

Date: 3/20/68 *wcs/gp*

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)
SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - SDS

C. D. [Signature]

Enclosed for the Bureau are nine (9) copies of an LHM concerning an SDS Conference held at the University of Chicago on 3/16/68.

Enclosed LHM has been classified confidential to adequately protect sources of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of whom could compromise their future effectiveness and be detrimental to the security interests of the nation.

- 1-9320sk*
Bureau (9) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (TEN DAYS OF PROTEST AND RESISTANCE)
(1 - 157-8589) (DEMCON)
(1 - 105-138315) (VIDEM)
4 - Chicago
(1 - 100-44895) (TDRP)
(1 - 100-44963) (DEMCON)
(1 - 100-42717) (VIDEM)

RJO:cnv
(10)

ST-116

EC 99

100-439048-2247

MAR 23 1968

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.,

RAO (ISD, CND, CD) IDIU

DATE FORW: 3/26/68
HOW FORW: JB
BY: JIN/pac

[Stamp]

54 APR 3 1968

136

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF LHM

105-148315-157
62-11207
157-157



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois

March 20, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

CG 100-40903

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENTS FOR A DEMO-
CRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished a leaflet on March 11, 1968, captioned "SDS Conference for the Chicago Area, this Saturday, March 16." The leaflet, a copy of which is attached hereto, called for a meeting of SDS chapters on that date to be held on campus of the University of Chicago. The purpose of the conference was to receive reports from representatives of various SDS chapters in regard to programs to be participated in by SDS chapters in the coming spring and summer.

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 19, 1968, that approximately 45 persons attended the National Conference of the SDS held at Ida Noyes Hall on campus of the University of Chicago on March 16, 1968. Attending this conference were representatives from Lewis College, Mundelein College, St. Francis Xavier College, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus, University of Chicago, University of Illinois at Urbana, Roosevelt University and the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT).

ILL. This source stated the conference began with a plenary session at which representatives from the various SDS chapters gave their experiences in connection with the upcoming ten days of protest and resistance to be held in April, 1968, protesting United States involvement in Viet Nam. Giving accounts of activities at Roosevelt University were SDS members Bernie Farber and Fred Kushner, Steve Kindred and Steve Rothkrug from the University of Chicago SDS chapter, and Peter Pran from IIT SDS. ILL.

MEMPHIS STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

*Declassified By 148289M/DB
2-9-78*

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

3 XEROX
MAR 29 1968

100-4370-2247
ENCLOSURE

RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMO-
CRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

CONFIDENTIAL

The theme of the conference appeared to be that SDS is striving for a specific program of well-coordinated activities for the ten days or protest, however, it does not appear this objective will be reached. Whereas it was hoped all schools would have coordinated demonstrations on the same date, it appears the different schools will each follow their own particular idea of what they should do on each day.

In this regard, IIT SDS will hold a protest demonstration against biochemical warfare projects engaged in by IIT on April 24, 1968, and the University of Chicago SDS will sponsor a "teach-in" on racism and imperialism sometime during the ten days of protest.

Source further stated the conference broke up into workshops during the afternoon of March 16, 1968. There were workshops on ten days of protest, racism and imperialism and the National Democratic Convention.

According to source, there was another plenary session after the workshops at which time there were discussions concerning results achieved at the workshops. The workshops brought no significant results and nothing new was brought up concerning the various projects nor could there be agreement upon what could be done concerning these projects. Anything that will take place concerning these projects will be done in the future on individual campuses.

Source furnished a two-page leaflet entitled "Five Proposals for the Ten Days" distributed at the conference which is attached hereto.

A characterization of SDS is attached hereto.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

CONFIDENTIAL

Brothers and sisters,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Members of several SDS chapters have gotten together and called for an SDS conference to plan, coordinate and advise each other on our programs for the Spring. We have the problem in Chicago that our base is small and the enemy is very large. Talk of mass demonstrations for the Democratic National Convention and threats from Chicago's black community have made Chicago's already hungry "military" police force strain at their leashes.

We can expect that Chicago campus rulers -- like rulers of other campuses across the country -- are getting together, trying to plan how to control and limit our effectiveness.

At the same time, the almost certain anticipation of race wars, and the strong feeling against the extended draft calls for an imperialist war gives us the chance and makes it mandatory for us to organize and resist as we have never done before.

We need to plan. We need each other's advice, experience and unity. In a city like Chicago, the substitute for central mass action may be coordinated diffuse actions, some on the campuses, some off. But to effect a constituency larger than those we can reach by word of mouth, we must plan.

Here is the schedule for the conference: SATURDAY, MARCH 16 -- THIS SATURDAY:

10 A.M. to 1 P.M.: Speakers from different campuses, such as U. of C., U of I, Circle, Northwestern, Loyola, have been or are being chosen to report on what their chapters are doing, what they plan to do on campus for the Spring, and what they think should happen in the way of coordinated action. There will be a presentation of the IIT April 24th demonstration by someone from the IIT demonstration. Les Coleman will make some suggestions about what we can do to relate to the struggle of the black movement and its suppression. In addition, speakers plan to talk about specific organizing suggestions. ILL

2:00 P.M. to 5:30 P.M.: We will break down into small discussion workshops. We can discuss the suggestions of the speakers and try to come to some agreement about coordinated action. Also there will be some discussion of the summer program so that the Chicago area folks can develop a clearer position at the Kentucky N.C. on March 29-31.

6:30 P.M.: We will get together again and reporting on the workshops come to some decision of the whole group on coordinated action and suggestions for the spring program.

||||| MARCH 16, SATURDAY, IDA NOYES HALL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Materials on chapter programs are being prepared and will be available on Saturday. People are invited to hold special interest workshops in the afternoon if they find it necessary. If things get too long, we can always extend over to Sunday.

MAKE AN EFFORT TO BRING PEOPLE FROM YOUR CAMPUS OR OFF CAMPUS GROUP.
LET'S TURN OUT!

MARCH 16, SATURDAY IDA NOYES HALL UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO COME

FIVE PROPOSALS FOR THE TEN DAYS

At present the student movement faces isolation on two fronts. First, it is separated from the majority of the student population. This means that most students are not familiar with what we have to say and are alienated from what we are doing. One of the goals of the Ten Days should be to involve large numbers of new students in thought, discussion and action against the system of imperialism that we live under, that we are affected by.

Secondly, we are isolated from the portions of the American people who are most directly affected by the War. The working class sends its sons to fight and is squeezed by inflation and wage freezes in the "national interest." It has the potential to end the War, to end American imperialism.

Until both students and workers realize where their real interest lies, our political effectiveness will be limited. THEREFORE, we propose that SDS regionally:

- 1) Encourage chapters to initiate conferences such as those being planned at the U of C (on imperialism and the draft) and at UICC (on people's war). Even at schools where the turnout would be relatively small, these conferences would give us an opportunity to present some of our ideas and initiate discussion with new students during the first few days of the Ten Days. The new draft law will bring many new faces to these meetings, and new students brought into new anti-draft
- 2) The need to develop projects to reach workers has been pointed out: two such projects are now going on at U of C, one in SDS and one in the Women's Radical Action Project (WRAP). The experience from the SDS leafletting (WRAP has gone out only once so far) has been very positive. Four leaflets have been passed out over a two month period, all with an anti-imperialist class line on the War. Projects like these should be started at other chapters. During the Ten Days, we propose regional, coordinated mass leafletting at factory gates to explain to workers our

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

analysis of the War and why we fight against the War and the draft.

3) An SDS-sponsored rally, with speakers, against the War, the draft and the 2-3 deferment. We see the 2-3 deferment as having a twofold function: 1) as a class privilege that insures the supply of necessary managers and professionals for the ruling class to maintain itself; and 2) as a tool to divide students from the rest of the population, especially the working class, and to keep the ideas and activity of the students away from workers. We propose a renunciation of this barrier. Symbolic of a desire for unity, some students could turn in 2-3 cards or solidarity statements. The rally should take place at 10:30 in the morning of the April 27th Peace Parade.

4) The rally should march together to the bandshell and join the Peace Parade rally at 12:30. We should demand a representative on the platform to speak on the imperialist nature of the War, the need to reach out to the working class, and to explain our earlier rally and our positions at it. The contingent from the rally should march together as the SDS contingent, with our own signs and banners.

5) A regionally written and distributed brochure for students, explaining our analysis of American imperialism, the War, the draft and 2S. It should detail what we are planning for the Ten Days and why. Campuses should be covered well, using literature tables, etc., to make sure all students see the brochure.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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☐ File

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NEW LEFT NOTES

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VOLUME 3, NUMBER 3A

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

SEPTEMBER 4, 1967

ON NCNP "Personal Liberation and Social Change"

reprinted from New Politics News,

August 25

Ramelo Davis and Stoughton Lynd

We think the National Conference for New Politics should disband. The coming-together of so many people at the NCNP convention expresses the desire of movement people working in local projects to find ways to pool their energies and to have real impact on the national structure of power in the United States. But we think NCNP represents the wrong way to pool those energies and to begin to have that impact.

NCNP is perceived by black radicals and by the poor as an organization controlled by, and intervening in, the white middle-class. That perception seems to us correct. If NCNP conceived itself as an assemblage of electoral organizations in middle-class communities, it could play a useful role in the movement. But in aspiring to be the political arm or representative of the movement as a whole, NCNP plays a role which is, on balance, destructive.

Steve Halliwell

In any electoral campaign, the message must come through that being a radical involves changing your life and the structures affecting that life, not just your electoral affiliation.

One of the most serious issues dividing SDS and NCNP is the relation to traditional liberal politics. In the personal lives of SDS members, the break with ties to authoritarian institutions and the creation of a radical stance is closely tied to a rejection of conventional politics of pressure and persuasion for another, that of social institutions; in other words, people who recognize the political process as perverted will not seek change through the institutions that process has created.

Becoming Radicals

The process of radicalization leads to an understanding that nothing has nothing to do with changing your life. Voting is a passive act, a choosing between alternatives provided by someone else. A radical

Once people have a sense of the possibilities for human beings, once the dis-eased values of this society have been challenged in an individual's life, then an outright attack on the established authorities must occur. Institutions must be dismantled, stripped of their power over people and new sources of power developed among communities of people.

So the business of radical change is more fundamental, more closely tied to the individual's conception of himself and his social relations than can ever be indicated by voting patterns or achieved by electoral campaigns. It is inseparable from the violence of our society, the distance between individuals and social groups, and the dependence on brutal and authoritarian conceptions of self could be eliminated without people's understanding the process of radicalization described above. As President Eisenhower once said, you can't legislate love, nor can you elect a President who will eliminate the dependence on authoritarian forces.

drug out in America. That experience, far removed from any election booth or campaign slogan, provides the basis for a radical solution to America's problems. That experience leads to recognizing projects in poor communities and subordinated labor camps; radical consumers in labor unions (that are establishment-of-union community-based drug resistance unions, community schools, and campus movements to make education relevant to people's lives. It leads to a conception of self that can establish a resistance to the institutions and leaders of that society and makes understandable the forms of resistance taking by oppressed people in America and by people in other areas.

It is only when institutions grow out of the participation of people affected by them, be they police, city government, poverty programs, universities, that these institutions are legitimate. Liberal politics seeks to work within existing institutions; SDS members respond that

MCNIP decides to back a King-Spock ticket in 1968. We have not been convinced that it represents the most effective short-term political strategy to stop the war in Vietnam; and we are quite certain that it does not represent the most effective next step in building a long-run movement for radical social change. But the so-called radical alternative to local rather than national electoral politics, appears to us subject to many of the same objections. Whether its orientation is to national or local electoral action, MCNIP represents a turn toward electoral politics without first having built a base through non-electoral organizing. We think this is the wrong way to organize anyone, and particularly disastrous when the people at the top are within middle-class institutions and those whom the Movement most wants to organize are not. We believe black people must lead an American radical Movement and that national organizations will become appropriate only when regional radical networks, with black leadership, call it into being.

To call for the dismantling of MCNIP is not to call for the abolition of white middle-class people from the Movement. We believe that the people, the money, and the power that MCNIP represents can be redirected to the support of a new organizational structure more in line with the actual state of the movement. This structure should consist of regional councils of federated local projects. The functions of the MCNIP connection, and of subsequent national conferences, should be to make possible exchange of experiences among these developing regional groupings.

This organizing perspective may seem provable, even lacking in militancy, when compared with the visible drama of an election campaign. But as a Movement we have had experiences from which we should have learned. In the South, the Movement looked to the vote as a key to unlock that closed society, and expected the Federal government to protect the struggle to achieve the vote. But we learned that the vote did not solve the problems of economic deprivation and imperialist war, that the Kennedy Administration and the Central Intelligence Agency helped to finance voter registration but more militant forms of

for people to undergo a re-visioning of their society, beginning with a deobfuscation of the existing reality. (Obfuscation is "telling it like it is.") That deobfuscation leads to a disengagement from existing institutions and value systems; once people are aware of the manipulative nature of American corporate control, once they understand "where it's at," they must reject the rewards and demands of that society in order to clear the ground for a new conception of society. Rejection of those established values creates the need for new values and new sources of human relations built on community and understanding rather than alienation, self-interest, and distrust.

Now, a person has made a break with traditional politics. It is important that he find his way into the "open wilderness" as it is labeled that will mount the challenge to that perverse system. He must find out how black people live and what the political realities of ghetto life are; he must find out how the poor survive, and what a solution to their problems would entail; he must understand the life of the subject worker; he must find out how schools are run in the cities, how police treat people who don't have connections; what happens to people on welfare; very little more he, here on, and



This picture has nothing to do with the story on page 5

resistance develop, that Federal assistance can't be too little and too late. In the peace movement, neither massive demonstrations nor the Congressional campaigns of 1966 have done as much to slow the escalation of the Vietnam war as the direct action of draft refusal. The lesson book of the Southern civil rights movement and of the movement against the war in Vietnam is that we must rely on our own resources, build our own power, create small pockets of strength which we can control securely rather than superficial coalitions and large-oriented public relations campaigns. It is in this context that we put forward the perspective of building radical regional federations.

continued on p. 6

A Vision Is Emerging...

This participation will mean some new political people recognize how fundamental the change is people's lives must be to build a national radical movement. Using the concept of responsibility to experience in a radical's own life, he will be able to create a politics that deals with the fact of how we're squashed by the fabric of American life is at present. What does it mean to the call to speak of "the young man and solid citizens of America"? Surely the young man "solid citizens"? That about justice, prevention, poverty, groups, unions, gayness, and leadership? Aren't they "solid citizens"? How will America deal with the obscenity it has created? Will we write off the thousands of people who have been ground down by this society so that they don't fit your concept of "solid citizens"? My money is on their fit. Success would surely be a breakthrough!

There is a vision of a new American emerging among oppressed people of this country, and the reality of that vision is being sought by young people through music, drugs and a new style of life; that vision will find political realization only when people work from the recognition that politics is part and parcel of their existence, and not just a way of helping people get what we already have. What "solid" middle class America has to be discarded and is being abandoned by the young in search of something more complete. SDS is able to do radical organizing only because it grows. If you will, on that new vision—organizers see their own lives integrally tied to what they are creating as a political reality. And the emerging reality will be one with institutions built on the participation of people, individuals that add because people believe they are responsible to a new concept of human potential. If MCNIP is serious about change, by itself and creating new institutions, then it must accept this deepest spirit of sustained commitment to help personal liberation and social change.

A point of information about my letter -
there with Robert Thurman. For space

is effective.

DO IT NOW!

...in New Orleans

As Interviewing Tactics for Induction Centers

Robert Fied
New Orleans KMS

CHAPTER CONTACTS—
The existing list of chapter contacts is ready out of date and must be revised before the fall semester begins. Please send name of a reliable contact, full address and telephone number.

DO IT NOW—DON'T AS-SUME ANYONE ELSE IN THE CHAPTER WILL DO IT INSTEAD, OR IT WILL NEVER GET DONE.

new left notes

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VOLUME 3, NUMBER 20 IN THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE SEPTEMBER 4, 1967

people are planning to go to the Draft Week c/o The Movement, 449 14th St., San Francisco.

August 18 was the day Arthur Carpenter, New Orleans Draft Resisters Union, Local #1, had been ordered to report for his pre-induction physical. At 8:45 Arthur showed up. With him he had a handwritten copy of a personal statement that he had written especially for the occasion. He wore sandals, black pajamas and a bathrobe. Five other men were clustered around while the guards checked Arthur's pre-induction notices. As the guards were looking Arthur over, the DRU guys started shouting, "He's a Viet Cong. Kill him kill him!" and shouting Arthur with red ink from a water pistol. In the confusion they pushed Arthur inside and disappeared as well. The whole scene took about 30 seconds. The guards got their asses back and literally threw the guy's outside—two of em they tossed—backwards in a bag down onto the sidewalk. They got up laughing.

...in Montana

Lee Smith, a former member of the University of Minnesota chapter who has taken an indefinite leave of absence from the diploma mill to work on organizing draft resistance in Montana, wishes any NLN subscribers in the state who have an interest would contact him. (325) Seventh Avenue South, Great Falls, Montana 59401 Ph. 422-4320

Smith and a small group of high school students have made plans to launch the Great Falls bus depot each time northern Montana draft boards send groups of inductees to South by chartering bus for physicals (they have a source for advance notice of these journeys). They have heard by rumor that a resistance group in Missoula has been backing the induction center in Butte, and, at this writing, Smith is preparing to travel to Missoula to hand up these couriers. The group is also participating in general handbitching against the war in the community's shopping center parking lot, an activity begun earlier in the year and carried on regularly by a group of older individuals known as Great Falls veterans.

the establishment press, etc. It is vital that every person in any section of the community threatened by the draft know about the program.

In Dallas, S.D.S., Dallas S.M.C., and the Dallas Organizing Committee have merged to work on the draft resistance program. They have opened an office at 4311 South Oakland, Room 202. The office will serve as headquarters for the Texas Draft Resistance Program, the Dallas Draft Resistance Committee, Dallas S.M.C., the Dallas Organizing Committee, and although not yet approved by the region, it will function as a regional S.D.S. office.

Plans are underway for a Texas-wide Draft Conference to be held in about a month probably in Austin. Those interested in more information on this conference should write the Dallas office.

Letter

Albuquerque, New Mexico

Dear Revolutionaries & Students,

I read with some interest Jeff Sauer's comments on the Moscow conference. I was more than interested in the comments of the Secy. of Komintern—"The Lash of the Secy. of Komintern"—Mr. Pavlov discussing the American New Left and SNCC in a critical fashion and attributing its problems to "its bourgeois origins". On my God—not more crap from the self-appointed pundits of "the world revolutionary movement of the working class" or "petty-bourgeois" (for as US CP back James West prefers "middleclass") radicals. By the way—somebody the communists, and their curious attitude from the printed record (ah, for revolutionary honesty!!)—write me as the three things we are assured by those Americans closeted to the CPGL (we do know whom I'm referring to) that Soviet Communists are never guilty of, 1) interference in the internal affairs of the American revolutionary movement, 2) Great power chauvinism, 3) and, perhaps, as relates to SNCC just a bit of subtle chauvinism—imagine a white Russian (we just introduced) deciding what is right for Black Americans—guess Mr. Pavlov is unaware of the full implications of "Black Power" and the rights of all peoples—especially oppressed ethnic minorities—to self-determination. I can only wonder whether the American social democratic—"I mean Communism"—movement will be as quick to note and condemn in the editorial columns of its journals this interference by the Soviet Communists in our internal affairs as it is to imply or condemn revolutionary Cuba for the "interference in the internal affairs of Latin American communist parties" (i.e., denouncing the open treason of the CP of Venezuela) or to discuss the chauvinism of the

table an interesting comment—a story he told the guards at the state pen that won some support and admiration from them—was edited out of the article as it appeared in The Movement. The story that Tyleria told—and regularly uses to describe the dynamics of the struggle of her people as it bears—being American blacks or citizens—or peoples of the third world—is included here for NLN readers.

"This evil system (the US) is like the lion, the king of beasts, but the poor are like the crickets, the king of insects. The lion challenged the cricket to battle. He is sure he can win—he will crush the cricket with his powerful paw. But the cricket gets into the lion's ear and burrows deeper and deeper. The lion begins to scratch at his head and still the cricket goes deeper. The lion tears at his head, he bleeds and bleeds. And finally he tears off his own head, leaves with anger and rage." The cricket wins, and the violence perpetrated by the United States against the poor people and the colored peoples of the world becomes the force of its debilitation.

unconscious,

Jim Kennedy

SPECIAL ISSUE OF NLN—The national office is contemplating a special issue of New Left Notes to be distributed free on all campuses where there are chapters. Chapters should send in the number of copies they could use—in such case, please take into account distribution possibilities that also account distribution possibilities.

draft stuff
...in San Francisco
...in Texas

Steve Hamilton

Draft resistance organizers in the San Francisco-Berkeley area have called Oct. 1968 to 21st Stop the Draft Week and have called for anti-war groups throughout the country to plan direct action against the draft in their areas. Where direct action is undesirable we have asked groups to plan some demonstrations related to Stop the Draft Week.

In the Bay area we plan to start the Oakland Industrial Center drive for the entire week by massing demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience—including the closing, harassment, raids, etc. We plan to start with a rally on the evening of the 18th in a park in Oakland or Berkeley, all night happening with rock groups, sleeping bags, etc., moving to the industrial center beginning the following morning. Police reaction and the people will determine what will happen throughout the rest of the week.

Our goals are three—

- (1) By getting large numbers of people involved in militant action and by dropping the system for a few days we hope to develop a consciousness among those who participate in or observe the demonstrations that collectively we are not helpless, that by political organizations we can make our voices heard, that we, as individuals as well, do not have to meekly submit to the draft and the war.
- (2) To use this action as a focus for draft resistance organizing in areas where no organizing has been done.
- That's only what we're doing here. That kind of action may be outside of the realm of possibility in some places.

Richard Aronson
Dallas, Texas

In the past two weeks there have been draft resistance rallies or demonstrations arranged in Fort Worth, Dallas and Austin. Activity around the issue of the draft has been going on in Houston for some time. Plans are now being laid to establish that kind of activity throughout the state.

In terms of movement, at this time we feel that the emphasis must be placed on draft resistance. The logic behind this is as follows: (1) the importance of keeping people out of the war machine, (2) the prospects of shutting up that machine in terms of disrupting structural relations and (3) the opportunity of building a mass political movement with a radical base.

It is to this last point that we speak when we say that it is not enough just to get people to resist the draft. But that it is crucial that they understand why they are resisting the draft. (Understand it is in terms of the war machine, the war, the economy and the system.) So that they can develop the commitment to analyze which will allow the draft resistance programs to become a relevant radical political movement.

We are focusing the draft resistance program around the slogan "If you don't want to, you don't have to go!" Although we are emphasizing on having people out of the army by disrupting the legal liability of military service, it is with the understanding that we will keep people out of the army by any means necessary.

We have set up the program along the following guidelines: (1) trials' centers in each locality, (2) recruit people

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

Once this is achieved, your
 for years is only a by-product
 of life. It cannot be imposed.
 It cannot be slipped into exist-
 ing plans and programs. Our

Indeed, the Peace Movement
wants to be consumed,
willing to feed the beast with
its own flesh.

See also
article on
Koyama,
in special
issue in
Koyama
1977

THE

The arrival of student protesters at the White House was the first time since President Reagan's election that the White House had been the scene of a large-scale demonstration.

of Eastern Kentucky Miners

working class and radical movement in 1911 ("Winter 1911" here) is in accord on "Marxism is dead," by Lenin himself, one of the leaders of the B.S.P., which covers the general and particular factors involved in Lenin's revolution in the Russian Empire.

[illegible]

was evidence to show they're doing. But while the students' democratic because they were really of getting to kill or have the President.

or attempting same. The [redacted] have just made their second [redacted] to the US Supreme Court for [redacted] of their appeal. The Supreme [redacted] recently rejected their first ap-

...and I am sure it
will be a great
asset to the
alliance.

[illegible]

that enables the establishment of a judicially prepared tradition of classical political thought, superior to the three hundred years of the last two centuries. The great work of the last two centuries is the work of the last two centuries.

destroyed the picket move-
all local efforts to destroy a
local efforts to neutralize the
of the pickets had included every
in the book—*from dynamiting inners*
and attempting to kill picket leaders

As they got something more important to discuss, the Ferrari Community, the Peugeot, and the local community of each country, and Buddhism got a reputation as the kind of East-meets-West that the West was OK. The story of

此等文字，皆係古人所遺，非後人所加。其間有
 些微缺損，亦係因年代久遠，紙張腐爛所致。其
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[illegible]

and the United Mine Workers of America, the National Association of the Social Coal Operators and the National Association of Coal Operators.

The Cleveland speed test shows a difference in the way the two cars

1

100

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The Immorality of Peace

Reprinted from The Movement, August, 1967

by Julius Leader

Peace.

America cries out for peace. One side says withdraw the troops from Vietnam and let there be peace. The other screams annihilate Vietnam and let there be peace. Yet, this peace, this peace that is so desirable, what is it? Is it the alliance when no guns are firing? A blue sky unblemished by fighter planes? Does it come when the soldiers are put in garbage cans and carried to backstreets? There is a phenomenon in America called the Peace Movement and its main function seems to be to mobilize thousands of people for demonstrations, parades around picket lines, help the New York Times get richer by taking out full-page ads and protesting, with varying degrees of intellectual profundity, that the world needs peace.

A Liberal Liar

Despite the political repercussions any action stemming from the Peace Movement might have, peace as a program is political and immoral in the latter half of the article. It is a lie in which liberals indulge themselves and momentarily purge their feelings of impotence. They parade to the U.N. chanting "U.S.A. U.S.A." How Many Kids Did You Kill Today? They parade to the World to "Peace in the World or the World in Peace." And here a white flag flies. At last they have gotten out. Unlike Nazi Germany where the average citizen turned his back when the bombers at Auschwitz started smoldering, here they set a pseudo-legal precedent whereby one was not ashamed of complexity and guilt for following the orders of his government. No, this time no one will go to the gas chambers without protests before the doors are closed.

Yes, it is not better that there are protests than none at all? Any not-harshes to the U.N. and the demonstrations in front of the White House better than turning the back and refusing to see or hear? Something is not better than nothing if that something is, in essence, nothing. To act inadequately or uselessly is the same as not acting at all, except it makes one feel better to act. Undoubtedly, the conscience of liberal Americans is no more the issue than is peace.

Peaceless

The Peace Movement has now reached the point where it can be considered dangerous, because it persists in trying to increase the size of demonstrations instead of increasing its own political consciousness. It shows pictures of napalm babies and burned villages seeking to effect the consciousness of an America that at best is a waste of The National Enquirer, which carries photos and stories on people unburied by enemy tribes and babies that were burned to death with cigarette lighters by their mothers.

The civil rights movement in the early sixties made the same mistake when it sought to move the American conscience by being non-violent in the face of police and snobs. The liberal conscience was moved to dole out its guilt. The American conscience enjoyed the vicarious experience of seeing blacks beaten. It was only with the appearance of Malcolm X and the later articulation of Black Power by SNCC that the possibility of creating a broad-based, effective movement for significant change came into being. They had thought that the issue was love from white people. It wasn't. It was power for black people. The Peace Movement fails to understand what it is doing in the United States and

Thereafter is peace the opposite of war. Resistance, not Peace

To want peace in the world is to want the continued exploitation and oppression of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the blacks here. This is the main force of America's working class, and America's action around the world is to insure that they keep working. Contrary to the common view on the left, America has been very successful in the past few years. Africa is becoming a secure bastion of neo-colonialism. Latin America is a little shaky, but still secure. Subways are dug deep in Indonesia, and the U.S. now has permanent bases in Thailand and South Vietnam, which may be its ultimate aim in the area.

Yes, on each continent liberation movements have begun, and it is certain that in a few years the Congo Basins will be operating in Africa, as they are doing openly in Vietnam and covertly in Latin America. Then will the liberal dust off its "Hush On Vietnam" badge, pat it on its nose, and say, "I'm sorry, I'm sorry to do nothing more than speak out TO BE FOR PEACE IN THIS AGE IS INKED TO BE PRIVILEGED, BECAUSE THE THIRD WORLD IS PREPARING TO MAKE WAR. The Vietnamese don't want peace. They want their country. The same is true for the rest of the colored world. It is immoral to want peace when peace will only add oppression. It is foolish, though, that the Peace Movement has the pretense to deny that a resistance movement. One of the hallmarks in the character of the American liberal has been his need for a "cause". In the sixties it was Spots and Bands. In the early sixties it was civil rights until blacks started burning down stores and killing. Black Power. Black Power.

ZENGAKUREN A Beginning Biography

Tom Casals

At the convention, the delegates very rightly turned down the suggestion that SIZ seek Federalist affiliation with a number of far-left organizations, on the grounds that we had inadequate knowledge about them. The purpose of this short reading list is to enable SIZ members to obtain information about one of those organizations, the All-Japanese Federation of Student Self-Government Associations—ZENGAKUREN for short. I have included only material in English, since that's the only language I read with any degree of fluency. To the best of my knowledge, all the material in this list is currently available from the addresses and at the prices listed.

The ZENGAKUREN Secretariat (Shirasa Building, 3-10 Kanda-Jinchuko, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo) has published a brief history, Zengakuren, 26 Years of Struggle, available for \$1 per copy. It's a little sketchy, but contains a good outline of the group's development, and some great photos of demonstrators breaking up cops, etc., such as we don't see much here.

The major political influence on the group has been the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, to which many Zengakuren leaders belong. There are several "international editions" of subscription materials from their weekly ZENGAKUREN (1-26, Shimbunshingaku, Tachikawa-shi, Tokyo) which are in English. You might write and ask them for mailing opportunities.

In back issues of New Left Notes there are two articles—ZS and the Japanese New Left, by Allen Grysman (Aug 15, 1966) and "Zengakuren Action" by Richard Marshall (Jan 12, 1967).

Ray Duvoyard's article "The New Left in Japan" in the May 1966 issue of The Activist (37 1/2 W. College St., Oberlin



last area, big competition with the Texas...
last is open exploration.
3) Calverly recognizes that the Amer-
ican economy is best described as non-
competitive. It is big business that domi-
nates the economy, and these big business-
men do not compete in prices; they agree
on prices. And their alliance with national
government is so close that it is hard
to say where the business sector ends
and the government sector begins.

lacked the time. Another example
Calverly says that the whole economy
is being run by the interests of big busi-
ness. Big, then, are they now looking
Calverly says that it is probably to en-
vision liberal economic that the economy
is still competitive. This, of course, is
hyperbole. But it is good to see
that Calverly has at least given to the

continued on p. 8

Laredo: Radicals Dig In

Neal Birnbaum

Laredo is a city of 70,000 on the banks of the Rio Grande River in south Texas. According to federal government statistics it is the nation's poorest metropolitan area. Unemployment hovers around 17%, and the median income is less than \$2,000 a year. In some neighborhoods less than \$1,500. About a fifth of the city is without a sewage system, and more than one-half of the streets are unpaved. Illiteracy plagues one-sixth of the population. Annually, as many as 8,000 residents of Laredo migrate as farm workers daily, around 4,000 Mexicans enter Laredo looking for work. This supply of cheap labor has historically served to suppress the wage scale in town.

Reformists crushed by local establishment

Although many efforts have been made at reform, they have all been successfully countered by the political and business establishment. Economic reprisal is the great and justly founded fear of all poor people in Laredo. Men who in the past spoke out against the "old party" for higher wages lost their jobs and were blacklisted. The bosses' answer to a discontented worker was and still is "You're fired, and you'll never get a job in this town again." In the "good old days" some protesters were shot; some were jailed; some simply disappeared or fled. Today, violence is not as common as before, but economic reprisal remains. Arising from this discontent, a reform movement to challenge the Democratic

several years ago. For a number of reasons it failed. First, it did not speak to the needs of Laredo's poor, who comprise almost 70% of the city's population; second, it aligned itself with the Republican Party which is really an appendage of the Democratic machine; third, middle-class people dominated the organization and refused to allow poor folks to participate and hold positions of leadership. Finally, its campaigns dealt solely with the candidates' personalities and wholly disregarded the substantive issues. As a consequence, no meaningful movement emerged to confront the political status quo. Yet even had the middle-class reformers built an organization, the fortunes of the poor would most likely have remained unchanged. Because of its extraordinarily strong position the Laredo establishment cannot be threatened or dismantled just by electoral campaigns.

their participation on the Board from one-third to one-half of the seats. This was successfully achieved, and presently they have effective control over the Laredo war on poverty. Moreover, these representatives can hire and fire the "expert" poverty warriors—and, in this, more and more poor people are assuming the reins and jobs which once belonged solely to the "experts". Nevertheless, these changes have not been significant for the poor community of Laredo. The poor people associated with the War on Poverty have been co-opted and gradually bought off; their function is still to divert the OEO programs, not to direct them. The Neighborhood Councils are, right-fully, seen by the poor as appendages of the OEO apparatus; they are not viewed as independent organizations that can demand of the establishment the rights of the poor or propose the desired changes. No one speaks to the needs of the poor community; the OEO people are only interested in patronage for themselves and their personal followers. Thus, to break the stagnant status quo, we began an independent militant people's organization.

Radical insurgency from the bottom-up VIDA

On February 11, 1967, in downtown Laredo, a modest group of twenty people began an informal picket line in front of Dallas' cafeteria. Their picketers and air echelons signed by Dallas' cafeteria.

Neo-colonial reform in Texas the top-down: The Texas war on poverty

For the last two years, OEO money poured into Laredo. During this time, all the expenditures were controlled by the local politicians and their business cohorts. The poor, for whom the programs was designed, were completely excluded from any real participation. Thus, this year an OEO directive forced representation of the poor on the War on Poverty Board of Directors; ten Neighborhood Councils were set up, and elections were held. Following the elections,

On February 11, 1967, in downtown Laredo, a modest group of twenty people began an informal picket line in front of Dallas' cafeteria. Their picketers and air echelons signed by Dallas' cafeteria.

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Bust in S.F.

Jon McKinney
FLP, SFSC SDS

On Saturday, August 6, about an hour past midnight, about thirty cops raided a Draft Resistance Union benefit party in San Francisco's Latin American ghetto in the Inner Mission District. Firing pistols and throwing tear-gas, they arrested seven people under the false pretext of "voluntary assault of a police officer", charged three others with various misdemeanors, and beat up several, among them John Ross, chairman of the militant Mission Tenants Union (MTU) and Progressive Labor Party candidate for city supervisor.

A "complaint of excessive noise" (as the cops later told the press) did not provide the raid; the provocation was political. During the three weeks prior to this incident, John Ross and the MTU were engaged in a bitter struggle with local cops over several cases of violent police attacks against Mission District youths. Legal suit had already been filed against the cops, and the MTU had already staged several large protest demonstrations in front of the district police station. Moreover, Ross' campaign threatened to usurp the traditional prerogatives of the Mission District hotel artocracy—cops and shambles—for his vehement demands for rent control and a community-run police control board were beginning

to grip the imagination of working people throughout the barrio. Within a few short weeks this summer we had collected over two thousand names on a rent-control petition.

The Draft Resistance party had attracted, moreover, about fifty people who composed the leadership of San Francisco's six most militant community and student groups. Besides FLP, the MTU, and the Draft Resistance, the Black Anti-Draft Union, the Mission Committee Against the War, and nearly the entire San Francisco SDS chapter were there. The cops were evidently willing to haul in the whole lot, throw a book of false charges at us, and keep us in jail or under probation long enough to break the political backs of San Francisco's radical leadership (the plan would not have worked, but they tried). Eighty percent of their intended victims slipped away before the cops could complete their round-up.

But they made the most of what they had, beat up their captives a few more times, dragged them off to jail and put two in solitary confinement. They set bail at \$80,000, which probably seemed excessive even to the corrupt political judges of this city, who later reduced it to about \$14,000. We posted a bond and got our friends back and, needless to say, our work continues.



book review Galbraith's liberalism

Fred Gordon
SDS, U. of Cal., San Diego

J. K. Galbraith seems to be the leading liberal economist in the country; he is head of A.D.A., and his new book, *The New Industrial State*, has been hailed as a magnum opus, for it strives to be a description of the whole society, of American economic structure and the effect of that structure on the quality of American life. If we can consider Galbraith the spokesman for the intelligent liberals, it is interesting how far "left" he has come:

1) In *The New Industrial State*, Galbraith has given up the theory of "untravelling powers". According to this theory, which he espoused earlier and which enjoyed great popularity in liberal circles, power in America is distributed among different groups—labor, big business, and government. Now Galbraith sees that labor has lost more and more power with the onslaught of automation, co-operate more and more in furthering the same interests, rather than confining with us another.

2) Galbraith recognizes that the Cold War is largely maintained by an alliance between government and big business that depends upon government arms spending. He sees that the tendency of big business is to produce more surplus capital than it can use to prevent the economy from going into a depression; the government must spend to use up this surplus. Galbraith has given up the idea which he held earlier that this spending could just as well be for public welfare and public works spending and be in some area which does not compete with the markets of private big business.

3) Galbraith realizes that advertising is largely a means of selling people things that they don't need, of creating demand. It does this by associating products with sexual satisfaction, status, and imaginary happiness. Advertising has not only harmed the countryside but an overall trade war, but has also degraded the quality of life of the whole nation.

4) Big business, which has not up to now intervened for business and planning, is urged to use the loyalty of "the new working class" (what Galbraith calls the "bottom structure") to company ends. But working in large organizations tends to be dehumanizing. Big organizations tend to destroy an individual's sense of freedom. In fact, says Galbraith, the future of freedom under present conditions is highly problematical.

5) Galbraith realizes that the present concentration on higher education in America is not due to a humanistic revival, but that it is the result of the fact that big business needs college-educated people to run its technological arms. Obviously, under such conditions, the humanities and those subjects that strive for the advancement of the life of the individual have been neglected. There may seem like very tidy—ready-made to the New Left, but can we be taking that as gratifying about it is the total secondary Galbraith's making of the economic profession in the United States. For example, Galbraith says that the reason that corporate executives have not realized that the economy has entered to be competitive is that the theoretical economists departments have a higher status in the economic hierarchy than the

of students, but that was the best they could do. Now if they only have as hard a time with the judges...

For what's happening in the West German student movement, pick up a copy of the Sept. 9 National Guardian.

For the low-down on the NSA, see the front page report by Carl Davidson in the Sept. 2 Guardian.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
197 East 4th St.
N.Y., N.Y. 10009

Trading Stamps for SNCC

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has asked support for a nationwide trading stamp drive through which it hopes to supply its Atlanta, Ga., garage, SNCC, and its several other offices, through redeeming such stamps, three retail stores in and around Atlanta. It is to help its very operational.

All kinds of trading stamps can be used, SNCC says, but most popular are S&W Green, Macy's, The Yarn, and the Old Gold brand. It asks that stamps be sent to SNCC, 197 East 4th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10009, or to its Atlanta office, 197 East 4th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10009.

of people who are not in a political vacuum which is also the source of their power. NSA is an elitist organization. It takes political positions precisely because it is not responsible to a constituency. It gives the rank and file liberalized bookkeeping services and gets in return permission to use the rank and file's money. NSA can move to the right or left as it sees fit, but being an elite NSA can have little impact on the students it pretends to represent.

Ever since the CIA disclosures, the "house cleaning" efforts of NSA have incorporated a whole "move to the left" brand of leaders who are after a radical change in NSA, a new beginning, a "New Frontiers." This was the image thrown back at those expecting for abolition.

However, the reality is that the same personnel are still running NSA. Check Hollander, NSA's top man, is a member of the "new brand." He advocated legalism of per, and organized the NSA Drug Conference—last year. He has to forget who Mr. Hollander considered his constituency last February when he was quoted as saying, "It seems to me our long-up is false. Do we serve our student constituency by selling the whole truth or please our government constituency?" May, the Government has the brand. We must stick with the brand. NSA's new President Schwartz and a good part of the NSA staff and the national officers acted equally deceptive and underhanded during the entire period of the CIA disclosures.



Dick Gregory speaking at the SNCC counter-convention

The Establishment

SNCC at the Convention

SNCC advocates abolishing NSA, and came to the convention with a whole set of plans. We organized a counter-convention with speakers who had refused to speak before NSA, published a daily newspaper which presented the SNCC critique, and called to hundreds of delegates. But all we could talk about was the potential for a future of radical campus movements and a present of hard work. We had ideas, but on most campuses represented at the Convention the ideas had not been turned into action and no assumed an image of fantasy for most delegates. Ed Schwartz's radicalism seemed more real than SNCC's—in a single phrase reality was based on ideology.

The concept of publicly providing an alternative forum to the NSA symposium was in the form of a "counter-convention," combined with a call for dissent, had the immediate effect of threatening people who came to the convention hearing little about NSA and less about SNCC.

power is most germane to the classroom. They talked about humanism, fulfillment, they asked existential questions of great merit.

SNCC, which first advocated the experimental schools four years ago (NSA just picked it up), developed its analysis through years of struggle and confrontation. The heart of their attack was that these schools merely reinforce existing university structures; that they siphon off the most educated from the majority of students who isolated topics, and further that they in no way challenge the paralyzing of the multiversity with American imperialism through research, training, and recruitment.

The effect of the counter-convention efforts of the SNCC contingent on the convention as a whole cannot easily be determined. Many delegates were presented with a radical analysis of America for the first time, and the NSA liberals and radicals were forced to play a game of hot-cold tag in reaction to it. The sentiment among the SNCC people was that, while it was vital to have to try to communicate with the delegates there, our job was to organize students on campus and not the NSA student elite.

September 4, 1967 NEW LEFT MOVEMENT

Who's got NSA CONVENTION... the lawyer? Who's Afraid of the NSA?

excerpted from the Milwaukee Journal, Aug. 15, 1967 John Fournet and Michael Grossman

The SDS chapter at La Crosse State University was denied a charter by the President of the University. So two members of the chapter, Dennis O'Keefe, an assistant professor of political science, and Michael Schutte, a student, are suing the board of regents of the state university of Wisconsin, on the grounds that that action was a denial of the rights of free speech and assembly.

The hitch is that the attorney general of Wisconsin, who normally would represent the board, a state agency, has said that there was not sufficient justification for the President's action and that he "may not exercise his authority to unnecessarily limit freedom of speech or association." As a result, the board of regents decided, "We certainly would not want to have the attorney general represent us in view of some of the things he has already said."

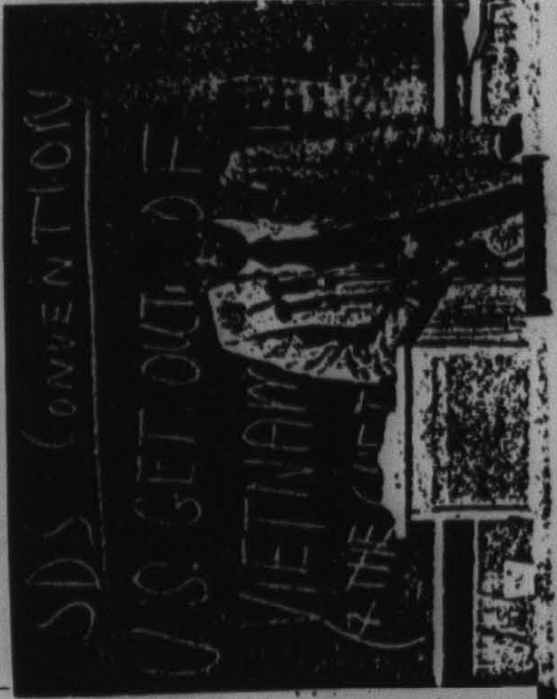
This should have led to the deputy attorney general's defending the board. But the Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union is representing SDS and financing the suit, and the deputy attorney general is a member of the WCLU board of directors. So he was off too. Clearly, a special counsel had to be appointed. But the laws had to be bent to cover this. The attorney general's office wanted it done under a law which makes special appointment possible if the attorney general "deems it his duty to defend rather than prosecute." But since that did not strictly apply, they

The old corrupt NSA is dead; long live the new action NSA. They're all new, clean and pure; they went into the shower believing that there was a conservative part of the CIA and a liberal part of the CIA and they came out of the shower with plans to demonstrate against Johnson and to work for student power. Last year Ed Schwartz was NSA's Domestic Affairs Vice-President and he worried about admitting the CIA relationships because that would hurt the possibility of foundation grants and State Department friendships; now Ed Schwartz is NSA's President and he is brave enough to make radical speeches about anything under the sun. Before the 20th annual Congress met at the University of Maryland, NSA seemed bankrupt and doomed; two-thirds through the Congress NSA seems bankrupt and healthy. Everything has changed, but it all comes out the same.

Appearance and reality

Two things of import have emerged from the Congress. The first is that American institutions can seem to be what they actually are not and enable everyone to take the appearance for the reality. NSA seems radical; it passed a resolution which supports black people taking "whatever means necessary" to secure their rights; it promises to lead militant student action; it talks about forming a membership union of students. NSA is what be-

There are the same people running the present convention; these are the same people who six months later are spending their Left rhetoric and programs. They are about for "Student Power", the end of imperialism, of the war, and of the draft. Yet it is difficult to believe that they are motivated by much more than the political drive to re-legitimise themselves by dissociating NSA programmatically from a "revolution war" in hearings that should



the right-hand campaign loss, it reinforces people's sense of their own powerlessness.

In the reform campaign, years are spent preparing for election day. An organization is built which complies with the traditional parties in serving the grievances of its constituency, and becomes known as a place that will "help." Nevertheless the goal of a "radical Turn-of-mind" remains election success. Non-electoral activity is viewed as giving the voter something to do between elections. Power in the organization tends to lodge with the candidate, who operates as the center of the organization. Because the election objective is primary, the organization works to create support for this person rather than power for the people of the community. Thus when Vito Marcantonio died, the organization that had served him elected him Congressman from East Harlem also died.

An election campaign in the ghetto can be a significant organizing tool. But we believe it must be preceded by building an organization which seeks power over the decisions of landlords, loan sharks, case workers, policemen, educators, urban developers, draft boards: men of power who do not hold elected office. The election should be open as a further dimension to the local campaign for neighborhood control. The organizational work should be permanent residents in the community, familiar to other residents through daily non-electoral activities, not temporary volunteers like the canvassers who flooded Marcantonio's district each election time. The idea of an electoral campaign should arise organically, when people feel that there are certain problems which they cannot solve by other methods and can perhaps solve by electing a candidate.

The "Riots"

Across the country in the communities in which the Movement works, the Movement's core constituency is in revolt. It is essential that organizers assess and come to terms with the meaning of these revolts.

The best effects of the revolts are obvious. Innocent people are killed. Tangible gains are small. Public leaders seeking "outside legislators" on whom to blame the problems they themselves have failed to solve, are reinforced. A tendency toward repression and militarism is strengthened.

Violence is not the only way such symbols and consciousness can arise. But reality requires us to recognize that for the foreseeable future it is a way likely to be used.

Like any other force, the consciousness created by the revolts may be put to many uses. In Newark and Detroit, hundreds of people are getting a "piece of the action" were never involved in an organization but are now searching for it. They will flock to organized activity that is directed towards gaining permanent bases of local power. They can speak with a new language within the community and beyond because of the potential power we all know they have. There exist incredible opportunities to build power on the rebellion if organizers can find ways to reach leadership that is drawn from the streets, the gang cats, and looters.

However, for many organizers this chance to build will be lost to whitewash speech-making and the confusion of the recent revolts with revolution itself. The white organizer in particular needs to avoid such confusion and romanticizing. He can give concrete help to black people in the midst of revolt by documenting police brutality, and by performing other legal and investigative services. But he must not permit the existence of revolts in the black ghetto to become a substitute for his own work among whites.

The Movement must face the fact that in some of its segments the creative use of violence has been legitimized. As a result, the Movement becomes more politically diverse; differences over strategy will widen. This circumstance must be on us as a delicate double task. While resisting pressures to condemn the revolts in the ghettos, we must reach out more strongly and imaginatively to that majority of the population to whom the revolts represent the destruction of society itself but whom repression is also offered. Within our own Movement it is essential to keep channels open, to avoid splintering, to resist turning inward and becoming known to each other.

The ghetto rebellion constitutes a new source of power which makes possible new strategies. Despite the fierce response of the police, we should not permit ourselves to be pinned on the defensive. We should recognize that repression itself will bring us new allies offended by the erosion of accustomed freedoms, and that the urgent task of our Movement is to work directly with those who have rebelled.

been goals. The traditional route to social change in this country has been through the legislature. The heart of this strategy is finding ways for people to participate in a week-by-week struggle which makes an immediate impact on the quality of life. What the Movement needs is to make public and private decisions directly responsible to the citizens. Change toward an ideal of society requires a central focus on electoral activity.

We believe the purpose of government must be reduced to making an independent economic policy. The central issue posed by industrial economy is whether that economy can be democratically controlled, or whether it is not so much nationalization or socialization of work as an armed guarantee of the resources available to communities for their own socialist experiments.

We believe this ideology of decentralization can be an idea which large organizers give over the long haul. We must work to define a new ideology, to give it a common language, and to bring American into debate about it. There is more than the bi-annual exercise of pulling wires in Tweedledee or Tweedledum. Politics is what it is for residents to control a community. The idea of social programs to become a part of the program, for the purpose of being shaped by a well-defined constituency and for the employment of institutions to ensure the work process. Politics, as we see it, is not only the insistence that government decisions be made by elected officials must be laid to rest, but a redefinition of the "public sphere" to include many kinds of decisions previously made by private decision-makers.

An ideology of decentralization is essential to the central problems of the country. It also provides a framework for interpreting the value of local triumphs. When parents demand and win approval for their own children, we should discover breakthroughs in power at a community, city and county level that give us the energy to begin to demand a new kind of society, and a public vision of our future to present to all Americans.

Hazard Miners

continued from p. 3

work. "This record reads a good deal more like the story of an incident in a guerrilla war than the normal operations record before this court."

"Evidence" of Conspiracy

You can share the judge's impression when you read the following excerpt from the record. But it is not included for that reason. The quote is included because it contains the sum of substantive evidence that the cops had and wanted to have.

"...John Mitchell Smith, an inspector, and Chas. Bagley, a sergeant, of the L. and N. Louisville and Nashville Railroad police, were patrolling their employer's tracks in an isolated area south of Hazard, in Perry County, Kentucky, in a motorcar being driven by Sgt. Bagley. They stopped on a hill overlooking a railroad bridge at Dally, Kentucky, about 1:45 or 2:00 a.m. In the course of their patrolling activities, as their vehicle stopped, Inspector Smith flashed the red light spotlight on the bridge, and the officers saw two men standing near a



vehicle that the material they had previously seen on the railroad bridge was large quantities of both liquid and solid nitro-glycerin with blasting fuses and caps attached and 'ready to go.' The other seven defendants were arrested at random during the week following this incident. Only Hamilton was arrested at the bridge—the other two figures were never actually identified.

One observer at the trial was so impressed by the mass of cops—railroad, local, state and FBI—whose detailed testimony on this solitary substantive incident at the bridge failed to involve any of the defendants save Hamilton, that he suggested it would be cheaper and more to the point to convict the cops for conspiracy than they alone have so much.

Prosecution for Political Protest

The Committee for Miners, which was formed to free the miners of their defense burden and to give them aid in their attempt to form a new political movement out of the original picket movement, has worked on the conspiracy case

continued from p. 4

Laredo Project

of Laredo's "Third," more expensive and profitable restaurants. Scotland's workers informed us that they also were burning 25¢ an hour and were ready to strike. On the morning of March 24, three VIDA workers and a Scotland employee tried to vote to decrease the number of wages with the owner and manager of the cafe. That afternoon, 25 of the 35 workers walked out on strike. Since then, for the past eighteen weeks, they have been picketing the cafe for sixteen hours a day. Some 60% of Scotland's regular clientele has refused to cross the picket line against the workers.

The strike conditions. Initially VIDA did not see itself as organizing workers' unions or negotiating contracts. In fact, VIDA has not been able to deal effectively with Laredo's labor problems. Until recently, organized labor has been reluctant to begin a union-faction campaign because the workers earn so little and their dues would be negligible. Many profits to the international union could not justify the organizational "hassles." Now, however, the Laborers' Industrial' and Union and the Communication Workers of America have begun to organize. But the Laborers Union, whose cards the Scotland workers have signed, has not yet begun to support the workers. The large-scale machinery workers lobby in the LRU—so they tell us. A day rate VIDA still has the responsibility for keeping the workers fed.

Present agitation and future campaigns. The strike has been the focal point of protest activity in Laredo for the past few months; continued agitation by the picket in the form of marches, demonstrations, and attendant jailings have produced a great deal of pressure on the local politicians. A city-wide minimum wage of \$1 an hour is presently being considered by a committee of the city government

laws regulating and interest rates. 2. setting up corporations and buying clubs. 3. campaigning for a more equitable tax system to replace the existing regressive and punitive tax structure. So that these and other programs can be effectively carried out, substantial and experienced organizations are needed. Strategy must be thought out, responsibilities, tactics planned, and of course people moved behind a permanent movement is built in Laredo. If you are interested in participating and working in Laredo, call would like further information, write to:

Neal Buchanan
1118 Price St.
Laredo, Texas

If you are not able to make a personal contact, but you would still like to help, please send contributions to:

Workers' Relief Fund
c/o Neal Buchanan
1118 Price St.
Laredo, Texas

Example of a Lay Member Profile of a Laredo Project Organizer
Age: 43 years old—supporting
Children: 5—3 with relatives in San Antonio and 2 at home

Works 56 hours a week at the Scotland Cafe; a waitress, seven days a week, eight hours a day, worked for 16 years.
Pay: \$14 a week (but on hours they are negligible)

Additional income: \$20 a month for washing and ironing

From a several thousand people who have come to Chicago to consider new political forms for the Midwest, there could spread a **strategy** of **activism** based on a realistic **analysis** of **what** we **are**. This strategy would ask that we find ways to strengthen financially the engineering and other professions, to help the **unemployed** to organize, to service local movements such as lawyers, doctors, and advocate city planning; to help distressed groups in a region **stricken** by **unemployment**, **black** and **red** nations of **disorder**, **unemployment**, **W.C.F.**, **disgraces** to the "new **black**" **condition** **with** **regroup** **these** **where** **regroup** **to** **begin** **this** **task**.

The Limits of Electoral Action

unopposed with the NCNP as my
- Eastern politics is a good way of
the situation. " This may be set up
for the moment that it is that if electoral politics
is not a way to engage people who are not
in the movement, then the organization of the
as the principal organizing tactic will be
hold a movement that is principally
The main reason we think the NCNP should do
line is that, whatever the intentions, it is being
a movement controlled by, and underlying so,
people who are for the most part white and mid-
- class. That is not the direction we think the
movement should go. The middle-class should
be engaged by the Movement, but they must not
control it. Electoral politics can be a tactical
tactic but must not constitute the
movement's basic strategy.

In the open community, electoral activity is the central organizing focus. Experience has shown that electoral activity in the ghetto is of two types. Typically, campaigns are single-shot efforts, dominated by the timetable of the election, run by workers whose sole object is to reach electoral prize. The overriding concern is to reach

The lives of many people in the Movement may be disrupted by prison sentences resulting directly or indirectly from the spiritto rebel.

Nevertheless, we must unequivocally reduce and condemn the ghetto radiation. The task of those not actively in rebellion should not be to help the government put the hands on organizers and oppressed black people, but to act as a counterforce to link and buffer between those who rebel and the larger society. There should be other reasons for opposing a KKK march. In 1968, it would be reason enough that the man who will keynote the NCNP _____ has joined in such

Killing, arson, kidnapping and other acts and should be dealt with so each of them are those who are quick to react together with and A. (New York, New York, July 21, 1967.)

This statement, according to the Times, was "indirectly requested" by President Johnson, who issued the same day that H. Rapp Brown, director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was arrested by the FBI on the charge of advocacy of arms and riot.

Most organizers have already been contacted over whether they began the meeting after, whether in the question of the meeting after, whether from the steps speaking out there can come a new base of black power. From the examples of the organizer anything which overcomes the sense of impotence and makes a connection of power among the most powerless, is probably positive. The remedy to this. An organizer talks and talks with a person, and then after months of talking that person may act, changing a way to begin to change his situation. The act is worth more than all the talking that went before it. It represents a new language that explains the meaningless, language and arguments used by the mass media and public officials. Anything that helps powerless people to produce their own goals offers new possibilities for independent action.

How We Should Move

The collection of materials of interest to the

And a way to more formal participation including the local people in the local government. We must find a way to make the local people feel that they are not just local people.

A new kind of organization and a new kind of people must be supported in order to make the transition to a new society. There is a need for city, county, and regional leadership which creates an atmosphere within the minds of citizens, help them to break down their mental isolation, and encourage them to come to grips with the problems of the future.

A national organization of the like-minded is to develop in all, should arise when necessary, and strong regional organizations and the need for and will be like being.

THE BATTLE

The extreme justification of this approach, where we argue that it can be used to justify the use of nuclear weapons, is that it can be used to justify the use of nuclear weapons. This is a very strong argument, and it is one that is often used to justify the use of nuclear weapons. It is a very strong argument, and it is one that is often used to justify the use of nuclear weapons.



three-foot stack of lumber (later, it was ascertained to be high explosives) just above the center pillar of the bridge. The officers aligned from the vehicle quickly, and Sgt. Bagley fired a dozen or more shots from a 30-caliber carbine in the direction of the trespasser, who fell off the north end of the bridge into the bushes.

The officers during the arrest of the automobile and drove rapidly in the same direction to a road leading off at Kansas state highway route 899, around the north end of the Dulley bridge. There, perched just off the roadway, the officers saw the defendant Gibson's automobile, in which an unidentified occupant was seated under the steering wheel. The officers drove their weapons and arrested the occupant of the Gibson vehicle and his co-occupant out of the Gibson vehicle and placed their own. The defendant Biggs Remaley emerged without further action and was placed in the back seat of the car Sgt. Bigley had been driving.

The officers then investigated the area. On the front side of the Gibson residence, they found and seized a .25-caliber automatic pistol and in the back seat a roll of blasting fuse. They advised their prisoner to identify the materials on the bridge, and Mr. Blandy replied that he did not know, otherwise, the rail road problem was not investigated the previous day. He refused to identify the materials, suggesting the material to be high explosives, the officers undertook to (1) prevent the defendant, (2) apprehend the other trespasser or trespassers they had previously seen on railroad property, and (3) identify the materials.

While Mr. Blandy was in custody in the automobile, Sgt. Bagley heard noises in a nearby wooded section, called for anyone there to identify themselves, none answering to response. One additional adult in the direction of the noise heard. Further investigation by the officers re-

for almost four years. The committee's organizing staff believed that the trial was a prosecution against political protest, rather than for a criminal act, and left the technical question of guilt or innocence to the committee's counsel and the courts.

The sixth circuit explicitly judges against support to this view. The judges included in their opinion this unusual statement: "From the beginning this court has been aware that this was no ordinary criminal trial and these men are no ordinary criminals. In the eloquent plea made by their very able volunteer counsel at the hearing on sentence, they were placed as driven to desperation by the harsh facts of the shocking case history and by abandonment of their own nation."

"However this may be," the judge continued, "there are many forms of social protest legally permitted or actually tolerated by the law. But dynamiting railroad bridges is not among them. . . . Any resistance for this offense would have to be such as to make it obvious that burning up bridges was no among the accepted forms of social protest."

The is the imagination to wonder how Johnson, McHenry, Brady, et. al.,... would prosper if a people's court were to try them by the same jurisdiction in Vietnam. That no court has this power today only emphasizes the arbitrary nature of liberal constitutional justice and the unilateral freedom the nation-state enjoys to convict and impose conviction. The question of justice remains the question of power. Once in court the subjects were denied the latter, and could be denied the former.

IF AIDS IS A Serious Threat...

It to date EDS has not faced the industry?

might be devised and executed so that the people can draw their own conclusions about the validity of the existing economic and labor-management system. A political system of participation and equality would require the widespread abolition of the authoritarian position of unions. The people have played some part in the War on Poverty and also power in the War on Suburbs, but they have been successful in bypassing the political establishment into a more representative stance. Yet, much remains to be done.

A number of programs are currently being discussed.

1. forcing the city government to spend

leader, "advancing any of its leaders' interests is a major criminal action in the US context, there are none quite analogous." Until now SDS has not organized any actions threat to the establishment.

The student movement's program for dramatic change has easily been understood as the rhetoric of liberal reform, on account with "Great Society" sponsored legislation. Rather than being a kind of socialism, SDS had the Civil Rights Movement heritage. Strongly bent a hole to the federal aid abolitionism which has tacitly and often openly used the millstone as the "lynch pin" or counterbalancing force to direct "radical" or countervailing forces to direct public reconstructional consequences to local and state governments.

Things are changing now. According to the special Draft Resistance Issue on June 1st, 1968, SDS is organizing a national rally on the administration's foreign policy. The federal government's draft resistance movement cannot raise militants like the Weathermen who turned into the War on Vietnam as it fused them into the War on Poverty. Therefore, that resistance movement had to the government—the movement's collateral against federal intervention has ended. The collateral rally is a time when the movement spreads.

Unlike his campus and community-action programs, almost every facet of the SDP Draft Resistance program is open to court action by federal prosecutors.

If the Draft Resistance program gains the momentum that the support for the Day of Product promises, the administration will find itself with no alternative but to move as ruthlessly to crush

Utilities: \$7 a month
 Payments to loan officer: \$20 a month
 Transportation: nothing on foot
 Total monthly expenditures: \$27.
 Thus, \$19 a month is left to feed and clothe three human beings.

since 1981: \$275 amount paid in monthly sums: \$170 balance due to Finance company: \$425
Explanation: on her income, she could not meet the payments on time.

2. The procedures will encourage, if possible, the transfer, by local, non-union laborers, of work originally done by a hired crew of card hars or an independent contractor away from there. The substitution cannot yet be tried because of thousands of problems that have to be solved. The most important one is that the "unemployed" are not to get the money, but the "employers." This is not to get the public's attention and highlight only the "one-dimensional" and "top-down" techniques of transfer a group once again.

It is not the point to estimate the leadership from planning and carrying out whatever program the movement will support. But some steps precautions can be taken if the program is to reach the maximum protection against the kind of harassment, like a conspiracy trial, that gives all the advantages to the administration and how it may to the movement.

[illegible]

五

[illegible]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

三
二
一

1. The first is the *Book of the Law*, which contains the laws of the Lord. It is the first of the books of the Law, and is the first of the books of the Bible. It is the first of the books of the Bible, and is the first of the books of the Bible.

[illegible]

大德二年

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

[illegible][illegible]

debate begins.

[illegible]

George Zarning End
 P.O. Box 6426
 Chicago, Ill. 60630

2000

一、（一） 凡屬本會之職員，均應遵守本會之章
 程，並應遵守國家法律及社會公德。

THE
FACULTY OF THE
SCHOOL OF THE
ARTS AND SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SAN DIEGO

[illegible]

Mr. John Brown is reported that the women
would be allowed of their attending their
children. Every one decided that
it was a good idea.

GALBRAITH - THE NEW INDUSTRIAL STATE

continued from p. 4

economics profession in the U.S. the mockery and derision that it deserves.

What liberalism fails to see

Galbraith's book is, however, in a number of very basic ways, most unsatisfactory. It seems to me that he is theoretically inconsistent on some very important points, and that in other areas, he ignores important factors (such as who controls what in whose interest). Some examples of this:

1) Galbraith says that Marx is wrong: advanced capitalism has no problem of limited markets. Yet he holds at the same time that a) it is necessary for firms to advertise to create demand, and b) that the profits (economic surplus) in that the firms (economic surplus) that advanced capitalism produces are so great that it is necessary for the government to "decrease" them by spending in areas which do not compete with the markets of private business, e.g. in areas or the space race. If the markets were not limited, why would it be necessary for the government to avoid competition with private interests?

2) Galbraith says that government spending is necessary for "planning". By spending more or less, the government is able to stimulate the economy and prevent depression, or retard the economy and prevent inflation. But if the purpose of the government spending is planning and control, then why has government gone always up since WWII? This suggests that the government is spending not just to keep the economy on even keel, but because business produces more and more profits, more than it could ever invest to

not very high. Furthermore, stock owners are so dispersed that they cannot longer exercise control. He sees the signs of the large industries to be growth and stability. But what Galbraith does not see is that growth is precisely in the interests of the big stock holders. Since the rich have much of their money, it is far more profitable for them to hold stock which increases in value through corporate growth than to be paid in dividends. Dividend payments are taxable for the rich at 80-90%, while capital gains—tax for increased value of stock when sold—are taxable at a maximum of 20%. Instead of drawing dividends and saving themselves, the large stockholders can enjoy far higher assets by letting the company save for them. Thus large stockholders enjoy maximum investment of assets through corporate growth at the expense of the small stock holder who, being in a low tax bracket, desires income through dividends.

3) Galbraith says that the aim of the company is not the maximization of salaries for the technocrats (administrative and scientific personnel). This is seen by the fact that salaries for the technocrats are not very high except for the highest positions. Galbraith considers these high positions to have little or no power—the real decision-making processes go on in groups lower down in the hierarchy, and interference by those at the top merely causes resentment and disruption. Why then does the company grow? The company grows because those in the technocracy, for some strange reason which Galbraith never explains, consider growth to be a good thing. It is a metaphysical end, in Galbraith's view, to be realized for its own sake, a sign of health in the corporate body. But what Galbraith does not see is that these men

as an end in itself, but because adding growth serves the interests of those on top, and the reward for this is advancement toward the top for oneself. We see that the opposite of what Galbraith says is true in this case.

3) The contradictory nature of Galbraith's views and his subverts are seen in his prospects for change. He says that the reason that a corporation grows is that the members of the technocracy consider the aims of the company to be higher than their own, and the aims of the company are, for some reason not fully explained, growth and stability (or strength). Yet when Galbraith talks in the last chapter of his book about the oppressiveness of working in a large corporation, he says that most of the members of the technocracy really would prefer to do something more humanistic and interesting, e.g. go into academics. Galbraith seems to think that the nature of the American economy could be changed by talking to the members of the technocracy and convincing them that the life of liberal studies is more interesting than what they are doing. But this is naive. If they do not like what they are doing, then why do they so easily put the aims of the corporation (growth and stability) above their own? This represents a childish view of human nature. Those who set the values of the technocracy are motivated not by a fuzzy enthusiasm for corporate growth (in which case the life of academics might very well seem more attractive and the technocrats would suddenly become enlightened humanists), but because they hope to make the big time—the large salaries at the top. These men are animated harder to convince, in fact nothing short of revolution would convince them, that corporate growth is less interesting than humanistic studies, for contributing to corporate

studies. Galbraith's new book are some welcome realizations about American life: the degrading influence of advertising, the subordination of education to business interests, the killing of the spirit of freedom by large corporations, the fact that the Cold War is being maintained in the interests of the big corporations, and the fact that in America there is no longer an independent sphere of competitive business, but rather a military-industrial complex. The book with Galbraith's book is that he does not understand power; and this is odd. Galbraith realizes that the Crusades were fought for land and not religion, that the Civil War was fought for capitalist control of the South and not directly to free the slaves; but when it comes to modern America, suddenly power interests disappear. Corporations are not spending for self-interest, but to enjoy the health of 'growth.' And so on. In *The New Industrial State* (see his recent speech before the A.D.A.) not for any interest, but simply because old L.B.J. made an error and doesn't want to admit that he is wrong. In summary, this is a book to give to frightened liberals, saying to them, "Why even J. E. Galbraith says that—", but clearly James A. Burnham's *Managerial Capitalism*.

iron (the United States seems not to want to get into an anti-bulldoze attitude even with the Soviet Union). But Galbraith does not see that much more spending is for the maintenance of the U.S.'s economic empire. Arms spending is not just to keep the economy bigger, but also to maintain opportunities for business investments abroad by putting down "seeds of national liberation." The U.S. needs an armed force, particularly in Asia and Latin America, and will not really be persuaded to give up its investments, which are, in Latin America, at least twice as profitable as domestic investments.

That characterizes Galbraith's new book are some welcome realizations about American life: the degrading influence of advertising, the subordination of education to business interests, the killing of the spirit of freedom by large corporations, the fact that the Cold War is being maintained in the interests of the big corporations, and the fact that in America there is no longer an independent sphere of competitive business, but rather a military-industrial complex. The book with Galbraith's book is that he does not understand power; and this is odd. Galbraith realizes that the Crusades were fought for land and not religion, that the Civil War was fought for capitalist control of the South and not directly to free the slaves; but when it comes to modern America, suddenly power interests disappear. Corporations are not spending for self-interest, but to enjoy the health of 'growth.' And so on. In *The New Industrial State* (see his recent speech before the A.D.A.) not for any interest, but simply because old L.B.J. made an error and doesn't want to admit that he is wrong. In summary, this is a book to give to frightened liberals, saying to them, "Why even J. E. Galbraith says that—", but clearly James A. Burnham's *Managerial Capitalism*.

3/26/68

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-42721)
SUBJECT: EDWARD JOHN JENNINGS, JR.
SM - CDS
OO: CHICAGO

Re WFO airtel to Director, 2/27/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 7 copies of an LHM captioned as above. One copy of this LHM is being furnished to INS, Chicago, in view of their interest in this matter.

[REDACTED]

b1

Sources utilized in the preparation of this LHM are:

[REDACTED]

b1
b7D

ENCLOSURE

4 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (RM)
1 - 100-439048
2 - Chicago
1 - 100-40903

BFW:mib
(6)

100-42721-8
NOT RECORDED
198 MAR 29 1968

66 APR 17 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-179652-2



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

March 26, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-42721

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EDWARD JOHN JENNINGS, JR.

The January 10, 1966 issue of the "Chicago Illini", the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus newspaper, contained an article by Ed Jennings opposing the United States involvement in the Viet Nam war.

[REDACTED]

A characterization of SDS is attached hereto.

A [REDACTED] source, an agency which collects security type information in the Chicago area, advised on August 23, 1966, that Edward Jennings' phone number appeared on a leaflet distributed at a demonstration sponsored by the SDS in protest against the House Committee on Un-American Activities on August 23, 1966 at the United States Federal Building, Chicago, Illinois.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Retained 1482 80 m/LS
CLASSIFIED BY 2/9/78
EXEMPT FROM GDS
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
Pg 1 para 2, Pg 2 para last

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

EDWARD JOHN JENNINGS, JR.

CONFIDENTIAL

On March 3, 1967, a [REDACTED] source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Ed Jennings read a speech prepared by James West at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus on March 3, 1967, attacking the lack of freedom at the UICCC under the Illinois State Clabaugh Act, which prohibits the use of University of Illinois facilities to subversives. b7D

[REDACTED] b1

CG 100-42731

For information of Bureau, an investigation has been opened regarding JENNINGS and a complete detailed report will be prepared and submitted in the near future.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448522)

DATE: 3/22/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-44759) (P)

SUBJECT: STUDENT COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK (SCN)
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ReBuairtel to Boston dated 2/6/68.

The Chicago Office has maintained close contact with appropriate sources in an attempt to determine if the SCN had, in fact, become operational in Chicago. However, these sources have advised that they have received no information which would indicate that the SCN has become operational in Chicago.

For the additional information of the Bureau, on March 7, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] VICKIE SMITH, who is a member of the staff at the National Office of SDS, advised that SDS has not associated itself with the SCN and added that to her knowledge, the SCN is not operational in Chicago. SMITH added that if in the future the SCN did become operational in Chicago, SDS would then consider the feasibility of using this service.

In reBuairtel the Bureau stated that consideration should be given for the actual penetration of the SCN, using perhaps informants. The Bureau further requested the recipient office to submit observations and recommendations regarding this aspect. In this connection the Chicago Office submits the following:

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago
RLS:meb
(3)

REC-116

ST-116

10 MAR 25 1968

54 APR 3 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

END SEC

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-448522-31

CG 100-44782

Chicago believes the most effective, meaningful penetration to be considered against the SCN is through high level informants and sources. It is believed that the establishment of a cover operation to monitor the actual Telex unit would be costly and provocative.

Utilization of information obtained by cover operation of the Telex unit could possibly be viewed by the courts as an invasion and seriously jeopardize prosecution of draft resistance cases under the provisions of the Selective Service Act of 1948 and prove embarrassing to the Bureau. Chicago is therefore directing knowledgeable informants to enhance their position in this area in an effort to take all necessary steps to gain information regarding the establishment of a Telex unit in Chicago so that they will be able to identify personnel, activities, sources of funds, sponsors, and texts of messages transmitted or received.

Chicago therefore recommends that the Bureau consider instructing interested offices to initiate efforts to develop adequate informant coverage at this level against the SCN in order that we can continue to be abreast of the developments in this area.

AIRTEL

SECRET

To: Director, FBI (100-439048)

Date: March 1, 1968

From: Legat [REDACTED] (105-6623) (P)

Subject: ALAN THOMAS LEVIN
SECURITY MATTER - SSC;
INTERNAL SECURITY - CUBA

Re Jacksonville letter, January 31, 1968; Bureau letter, February 21, 1968, captioned STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS - SDS (Washington Field File 100-44140).

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED] (s)

B1
B3
per
CIA

CLASSIFIED BY 100-274178
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

- 9 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)
(2 - Jacksonville 100-818)
(1 - Miami 25-30887)
(2 - Washington Field)

REC-110

100-439048-2248

1 - [REDACTED]
RJG:esc
(10)

Copy to Miami, 2JK, 2WFO
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 3/18/68
by [REDACTED]

66 APR 10 1968

C. C. - Bishop

MAR 4 1968

SECRET

100-448174-
UNRECORDED COPY FILED

LEADS

JACKSONVILLE

~~SECRET~~

B1
B3
per CIA

2) Will advise the Mexico City Office the meaning of S30C, an abbreviation unknown to this office.

KLXI

One copy of this airtel is designated for the information of the Miami Office, as subject was due to report for induction at Miami on February 26, 1968.

WASHINGTON FIELD

At Washington, DC. 1) Will furnish Jacksonville results of inquiry at the Passport Office initiated by referenced Bureau letter.

21

MEXICO CITY

B1
B3
per CIA

At Mexico, DF. Will report subject's travel to Cuba.

~~SECRET~~

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 26 1968

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

643 PM DEFERRED 3/26/68 RSM

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS-SDS.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY SDS
CHAPTER SPONSORING ANTI DRAFT DEMONSTRATION, U.S. INDUCTION
STATION, SIX ONE FIVE WEST VAN BUREN, CHICAGO, MARCH TWENTYEIGHT
NEXT AT SIX AM.

DEMONSTRATION IN SYMPATHY WITH MIKE DAVIDSON (CHICAGO AREA
SDS MEMBER) SCHEDULED FOR PRE-INDUCTION PHYSICAL THAT
DATE.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND CHICAGO PD
ADVISED LOCALLY. CHICAGO FOLLOWING. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

AP

BAP

FBI WASH DC

REC-74

100-439048-2250

15 APR 2 1968

62 APR 8 1968

REC-31

100-439048-2251

1-
1-

b7c

April 2, 1968

EX-102

Honorable Donald Rumsfeld
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

My dear Congressman:

I have received your letter of March 27, 1968, which enclosed material you received from [redacted]

b7c

In response to [redacted] inquiry, the Students for a Democratic Society, a militant youth group with chapters on college campuses throughout the United States, and the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a New York based organization which is opposed to United States policy in Vietnam, have publicly announced plans to stage nationwide demonstrations during the period of April 21-30, 1968, to protest the war in Vietnam. All information developed regarding these demonstrations is being furnished to appropriate Federal and local authorities.

You may rest assured that all violations of law coming within the primary investigative jurisdiction of this Bureau which occur during the course of these demonstrations will be vigorously investigated and promptly referred to the Department of Justice for possible prosecutive action.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 12
APR 2 1968
COMM-FBI

CWT:jav
(5)

olson _____
Loach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____

62 APR 8 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Honorable Donald Rumsfeld

NOTE:

Bufiles contain no identifiable information regarding [REDACTED] "The Washington Post" issue of 10/21/65 quoted Representative Rumsfeld (R-Ill) as being critical of an FBI report which he inaccurately described as being incomplete; however, we had subsequent limited cordial relations concerning constituent matters. b7c

DONALD RUMSFELD
Representative in Congress
from the District of Columbia
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT
OPERATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND
TECHNOLOGY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

WASHINGTON OFFICE
Room 202, Capitol Building
Washington, D.C. 20541
Tel. 205-3711
The Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

March 27, 1968

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Attached are copies of correspondence which I recently received indicating the possibility of campus riots between April 21 and 30.

[REDACTED] has inquired as to the truth of such reports and information on steps being taken. I would appreciate any comments you would care to make, consistent with existing rules and regulations, that would be helpful in responding to the Doctor.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
Donald Rumsfeld
Representative in Congress

dr/lg
Encl.

EXP. PROC.
35 MAR 29 1968

REC-31

2251

4-3
12 MAR 29 1968

CORRESPONDENCE

1- ENCLOSURE

00

07C

Hello -- Doubt I will get to
Chicago this century -- too many
wild Americans (?) there.
Show was great! Geraldine
Chaplin was poor.

The S. D. S. will riot on all
campuses every where April 21 --
30 according to Barron's Report
of March 11. They plan a
revolution in two years.

R. C. G.

This is from a teacher in Lowell Massachusetts.

Assume our FBI, CIA are surveying all this --
Any truth to it, if so what steps are being
taken.

07C

COPY:nm

**GORDON REID'S FAMOUS
ANTIQUES FLEA MARKETS**
Semi-Annual ★ One-Day ★ Out-Door
STATION WAGON ANTIQUES FAIRS
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ANCHOR ACRES • U. S. ROUTE 20
SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS 01109
6 Miles West of Old Sturbridge Village

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

POST CARD

Address

Hello - Doubt I will get to
Chicago this century - too
many wild Americans there.
Show was great! Bersoldine
Chaplin was poor.

The S.D.S. will riot on all
campuses everywhere April 21-
30 according to Benson's Report
of March 11. They plan a
revolution in two years.

R.C.G.

Pub. by Berkeley Studio's, Springfield, Mass.

I think we are going through
what Russia went through,
but at an accelerated
rate. Little will stop
it except Geo. Wallace.

NAME

DATE 22 March 62

ADDRESS

R. This is from a teacher
in Lowell Massachusetts.
Assume our FBI, CIA
are surveying all this -
Am. Truth & D. also
what steps are being
taken

PHARMACIST
REFILL UNLESS
INDICATED BELOW

NO. OF DOTS			
☐	☐	☐	YOUNG
☐	☐	☐	HOW OLD
REFILLS - - -			

67C

100-439048-2252.

CHANGED TO

100-439048-53-46X.

AUG 5 1971

MN 4211N

✓

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 28 1968

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

341PM DEFERRED 3/28/68 RSH

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS-SDS.

REMYTEL MARCH TWENTY SIX LAST.

BUAGENTS OBSERVED TODAY NINETEEN INDIVIDUALS REPRESENTING ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY CHAPTER SDS PICKETING U.S. INDUCTION CENTER, SIX ONE FIVE WEST VAN BUREN, CHICAGO, BETWEEN SIX AND EIGHT AM.

DEMONSTRATION IN SYMPATHY WITH MIKE DAVIDSON, CHICAGO AREA SDS MEMBER, WHO INTENDED TO REFUSE PRE-INDUCTION PHYSICAL THIS DATE. DAVIDSON OBSERVED PARTICIPATING IN DEMONSTRATION FOR ONE HOUR THEN LEFT. DAVIDSON HAD NOT REPORTED AS OF ELEVEN PM TODAY. ONLY PLACARD DISPLAYED READ "THOSE WE ARE KILLING ARE OUR BROTHERS."

NO INCIDENTS OR ARRESTS. USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY IN-TELLEGEANCE ADVISED LOCALLY. PD COGNIZANT. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

GFH

FBI WASH DC

APR 1 1968
APR 1 1968

REC-75

APR 3 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 29 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

740PM DEFERRED 3-29-68 RFJ

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048) (100-447130)
FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) (100-44663)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS-SDS. CIRCLE
CAMPUS COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM, UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS.

REMYTEL TODAY CAPTIONED SDS; IS-SDS.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY DEMONSTRATION AT UNIV. OF
ILL. CIRCLE CAMPUS (UICC) HELD TODAY PREVIOUSLY REPORTED AS
SPONSORED BY SDS ACTUALLY SPONSORED BY CIRCLE CAMPUS COMMITTEE
TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM, UNIV. OF ILL., AND SUPPORTED BY SDS.

APPROXIMATELY TWENTYFIVE DEMONSTRATORS PICKETED OUTSIDE
ROOM TWO FIVE FIVE, ROOSEVELT ROAD BUILDING, UICC, ELEVEN AM
TO THREE FIFTYFIVE PM PROTESTING HEARING BEFORE UNIV.

DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE OF FIVE STUDENTS WHO OBSTRUCTED US
MARINE CORPS RECRUITING ON CIRCLE CAMPUS JAN. LAST. DEMONSTRATORS
INCLUDED JOHN MIO VILLAGOMEZ, YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE MEMBER.
SILBAR WARNED BY UICC POLICE AFTER HE POUNDED ON DOOR OF HEARING
ROOM. NEITHER SILBAR OR OTHERS ARRESTS. NO OTHER INCIDENTS.

END PAGE ONE

55 APR 10 1968

REC 99

12 APR 3 1968

PAGE TWO CG 100-40903

PD, LOCAL MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE, USA ADVISED.
CHICAGO WILL REPORT DECISION OF DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE WHEN
KNOWN. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

LLD

FBI WASH DC